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The Nation. March 22, 1980 $1

EDITORIAL

FALSE-HOPE DIPLOMACY

The United Nations Commission's investigation in Iran has collapsed, at least temporarily, under the strains of that country's still unresolved power struggle. We can hope that the five-member commission will eventually return to continue its "fact-finding" work, as there seem to be plausible signs that a resolution of the crisis can be achieved after the returns of next month's elections are in and the new national assembly constitutes itself.

It is unfortunate, however, that from the very beginning the U.N. Commission's fact-finding mission was mistaken for a rescue operation, a sort of nonviolent Entebbe raid, its purpose to free the fifty American hostages. As a result, there has been neither a serious investigation of the Pahlevi-American relationship nor a resolution of the hostage crisis. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim should never have succumbed to the demands made in January by the Carter Administration that the five commissioners must be allowed to see all fifty hostages on their trip. Such a linkage of the commission's work with the hostage situation—two quite separate issues—eventually allowed the student militants occupying the U.S. Embassy to place themselves once again center-stage in the crisis.

There was no need to put the success or failure of the commission's investigation in the hands of the students, whose hold over the hostages remains one of life or death. The commission's mandate to investigate "Iran's grievances" against the Pahlevis and the United States, if seriously pursued, could have made the student militants politically irrelevant—and that has always been the necessary first step to the eventual release of the American hostages, a critical goal in human terms and a precondition for freeing the Iranian Government to deal with the larger problems of its own people.

DIASPORA DEBATE
Arthur Hertzberg

BLACK OLYMPIANS?
Manning Marable

THE 'FORMOSA' AFFAIR
Ramsey Clark
Mary Ellen Leary

FUELING INFLATION
Fred J. Cook

PRINCETON VS. FREE SPEECH
Aryeh Neier

EDWARD SAID
Eqbal Ahmad

DUBIOUS ALLIES

3

THE 'CHINA CARD'—A BAD DEAL

ALAN WOLFE

Looking out upon a world at war, Franklin Delano Roosevelt thought long and hard about the shape of things to come. Europe, he knew, would suffer a serious setback in its power, even if the Allies successfully defeated Nazi Germany. Meanwhile, should Japan fall to the West, a power vacuum would exist in Asia. Putting two and two together, an operation at which Roosevelt was particularly adept, the President realized that the likely candidate to fill the void would be the Soviet Union, which was an Asian power as well as a European one. Seeking to prevent such an occurrence at all costs, Roosevelt decided early in the war that China must be elevated to the status of a "great power" in the hopes of preventing an Asian vacuum from coming into existence.

There is a Chinese tale, transformed by Giacomo Puccini into his unfinished masterpiece, *Turandot*, in which the hero successfully divines the answer to a riddle that will win him access to an enigmatic princess. Roosevelt was in desperate need of the answer to the riddle that would transform China into a great power, for this was a society not yet out of its feudal phase. Puccini's hero invoked the magic word "love"; for Roosevelt, the key utterance was "Chiang Kai-shek." Unfortunately for the President, and for American foreign policy, Chiang was as unforgiving and stubborn as Turandot. Manipulating the great power that was supposed to be controlling him, Chiang used every tactic he possessed, not to defeat Japan and fill the power vacuum but to defeat his Communist rivals within China. One of the great disasters in modern

(Continued on Page 337)

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LETTERS.

CJR RESPONDS

New York City

"*CJR* Pains" [editorial, *The Nation*, March 1] raised the question of whether Robert Manoff was dismissed as editor of the *Columbia Journalism Review* for political reasons. Unlike much comment on this matter, *The Nation* editorial did not rush to a conclusion, noting that "it is too soon to know all the facts."

The political-firing story—busily disseminated by Rob from the day he was fired—is sexy (Crusading Editor Cut Down By Appalled Establishment) and plausible, given the fact that, under Rob (and the publisher and the dean, and with the wholehearted approval of his staff), the *Review* did publish several sharply critical articles. Rob's story is also a crock.

I cannot relate "all the facts" in this space, but I shall try to provide a relevant few. Let me begin by saying that if his staff had believed that Rob was fired for political reasons, we would all have resigned.

To back up: With his appointment as editor last spring, Rob inherited a small staff—a managing editor, a part-time art director and a senior editor—which fully supported him. Indeed, he owed his appointment to two of us, who as members of the search committee had pushed hard for him. For four months we had observed his performance as a consultant editor and we were impressed—so much so that we were ready to overlook his comparative lack of experience. (Rob had been senior editor at *More* for about eight months. Period.) This lack, compounded by Rob's consistent refusal to acknowledge the reality of deadlines, quickly led to trouble.

Every issue came out late; each was produced in a final frenzy of activity that left everyone drained. A September meeting at which the staff, now strengthened by the addition of a researcher (another editor was finally hired in October), sought to thrash out production problems with Rob led to no improvement. On the contrary, he chose to interpret the meeting as a personal attack. Thereafter, he seemed to regard us as unloyal subordinates rather than concerned colleagues. Editorial meetings lapsed, then ceased. Crisis—preventable crisis—became routine.

Repeated warnings from the publisher that Rob must finally get the bimonthly(!) out on schedule, that he must begin to delegate authority (no one could so much as "kill a widow," cut a line, or write a caption without Rob's approval) had no effect. As each production cycle neared its end, we all worked crazy hours to push out late copy—and started going crazy. The March/April issue was the latest (two weeks), and most grueling, of all. It was near the end of this cycle that four members of the demoralized staff informed the publisher that they could not face the prospect of going through the Manoff wringer again, thus forcing the publisher to act.

This is the gist; much more could be said. And at least four more things must be said: Rob is a gifted editor (and an astute self-promoter). If, perhaps, our numbers were too few to allow him to attain his ambitious goals without creating intolerable strains, it is also possible that, at this time in his career at least, Rob was simply too inexperienced to lead us or too immature to manage himself. Manoffism with a more human face—and a better-organized head—would have survived a long time at the *Review*. It is the intent of all of us at the *Review* to stay tough, while striving to be fair.

Jon Swan, Senior Editor
Columbia Journalism Review

We welcome Mr. Swan's version of events at *CJR*; however, we would like to take this opportunity to offer a correction unrelated to Mr. Swan. We received a publicity release from *CJR*'s publisher, Edward W. Barrett, further amplifying *CJR*'s side of the story. The covering letter was addressed to Carey McWilliams. We believe that as a monitor of American journalism, *CJR* should be aware that Mr. McWilliams has not been editor of this magazine since 1976.

—The Editors

NOT PLEASED

Los Angeles

I've just now read Richard Elman's review of my book ["Dr. Fuchs's Hollywood Brother," *The Nation*, Jan. 26]. This man is an affliction to me, a disease. Why do you print such spiteful indecencies? Do you read what you print? He has made filth on the memory of a fine man, now dead, who had the misfortune of having him as one of his students. He refers to *The New Yorker* as a hack magazine. His article is marked by misstatements and errors flung out on the run and which no responsible journal would tolerate. You and your literary editor should be ashamed of yourselves.

Daniel Fuchs

FORTY MILLION MOSLEMS

Perth Amboy, N.J.

Apparently Prof. Samuel D. Kassow ["After the Crisis," *The Nation*, March 8] in his six months in Russia never got to Siberia, where dwell more than forty million Moslems. This is what the invasion of Afghanistan is about. For fanatics to take over there endangers the unity of the separate nations under Soviet control. Unrest in Siberia is as important as the oil of the Persian Gulf to the United States. More so.

David Mandel

STANDARD CRITICISM

West Hartford, Conn.

I just started reading my first issue of *The Nation*. I was intrigued by the long article by a friend of mine, William Tabb ["Playing 'Productivity' Politics," Jan. 5–12]. But on reading the article I was very disconcerted to find the same insensitivity to economic political issues as exhibited by *The New Republic*. (Not that I equate the two publications now, with the strong rightward shift of *T.N.R.*)

Tabb's long article starts with a valid economic point—that much of our apparent loss in productivity is due to costly environmental and safety improvements for which economists have not yet devised adequate methods of measurement. But Tabb doesn't discuss the measurement problem. Rather, the rest of the article shifts into a long series of conclusions about controversial issues with no attempt at proof, argument or statistic. In fact, it is a series of the standard kind of Marxist criticisms of capitalism. Not that the analysis is necessarily wrong but calling capitalism names isn't argument. For one tiny example, Tabb keeps referring to the increase in profit rates of American business but doesn't supply a single statistic to support that assertion.

Robert L. Bard
Professor of Law
University of Connecticut

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CONTENTS.

Volume 230, No. 11

COVER
Editorial:
False-Hope Diplomacy
Dubious Allies:
The "China Card"—A Bad Deal — *Alan Wolfe*

LETTERS
322

EDITORIALS
323 *Snepp* Fallout
324 Sun Setback
324 Diaspora Dissent — *Arthur Hertzberg*
326 Black Olympians? — *Manning Marable*

ARTICLES
327 Human Rights in Taiwan:
The Government Stands Accused — *Ramsey Clark*
328 The *Formosa* Affair — *Mary Ellen Leary*
330 Fueling Inflation:
Runaway Heating-Oil Profits — *Fred J. Cook*
334 Canadian Election:
Separatism—The Forgotten Issue — *Stanley Meisler*
336 Princeton vs. Free Speech:
Forbid Us Our Trespassers — *Aryeh Neier*

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
341 Said: The Question of Palestine — *Eqbal Ahmad*
343 Turner: Beyond Geography — *Richard Drinnon*
345 Mazlish and Diamond:
Jimmy Carter — *George B. Forgie*
346 Television — *Peter Sourian*
346 The Standing Stones
Of Callanish (poem) — *Richard Hugo*
347 Theater — *Harold Clurman*
348 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Ed Koren

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EDITORIALS.

'Snepp' Fallout

Henry Kissinger writes in the foreword to *White House Years* that classified material discussed in his book was cleared before publication with the office of his successor as national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski. In this respect, at least, it appears that Kissinger was more scrupulous than the many other high-level public officials who have, on their own, disclosed classified material in their memoirs. Even so, under the Supreme Court's astonishing decision last month in the *Snepp* case, which upheld the Government's suit against a former Central Intelligence agent whose book contained no classified information, it would be possible for the Justice Department to sue Kissinger for violating his "fiduciary obligation" as a former Federal employee because of his failure to clear with the Government the entire manuscript of *White House Years*. It could also obtain an order requiring him to clear in advance everything he says or writes about his years in Government and to give the United States all his earnings from the publication of his memoirs.

We hasten to reassure Mr. Kissinger that the Government will not sue him. He will keep his millions. Instead, the Justice Department is going after one of his critics, John Stockwell, the former chief of the C.I.A.'s task force in Angola. Stockwell argues convincingly in his book, *In Search of Enemies*, that American intervention in Angola was not intended to overcome Soviet intervention, only to demonstrate that, in the wake of American withdrawal from Vietnam, we still had the will to make the Soviet Union pay dearly for prevailing. In addition to revealing the futility of the make-believe war we waged in Angola, Stockwell embarrassed the Administration by divulging information on other American adventures in Africa, like the C.I.A. effort to assassinate Patrice Lumumba.

The *Snepp* decision has given the Government a potent weapon to silence critics from within its own ranks. Under the Supreme Court's ruling, everyone who has worked for

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the Federal Government has a fiduciary obligation, but apparently only critics will be sued. The Carter Administration hardly waited for the ink to dry on the *Snepp* decision before suing John Stockwell; once again it demonstrates its low regard for civil liberties.

Sun Setback

At a time of skyrocketing energy prices, threats of war to protect oilfields in the politically unstable Middle East and accidents at nuclear reactors, you would think the Carter Administration would aggressively push to use U.S. energy more efficiently and to develop domestic renewable energy resources. So you would think. But while the White House continues to espouse the solar transition, it just *cut* the Department of Energy's solar allocation in the 1981 fiscal budget by 3 percent in real dollars. If inflation is taken into account—and it must be—the research and development budget for conservation was slashed by 12 percent.

To gain some perspective on this sum, compare the proposed expenditures for other technologies. According to Richard Munson at the Solar Lobby in Washington, D.C., spending for synthetic fuels has already increased 500 percent, or $2.2 billion. And although the proposed nuclear R&D budget was trimmed slightly, it is still double that for solar energy R&D. The White House will, of course, say that total solar expenditures are up to $1.5 billion. But this calculation rests on the assumption that tax incentives and loan programs will be approved by Congress. The statement is doubly deceptive because the total reflects both subsidies and the Department of Energy budget. If the Administration did the same for conventional fuels—oil, coal and nuclear power—we would find an even larger Federal bias toward centralized, nonrenewable resources.

If you dig into the Carter proposals, you find something less than an aggressive commitment:

§ The solar budget is $200 million less than what the Administration's experts claim is necessary to achieve Carter's own goal—having solar power capture 20 percent of the U.S. energy market by the year 2000. According to Representative Richard Ottinger of New York, "Money hasn't matched the rhetoric, and at the proposed level of support, the 20 percent goal is a sham and illusion."

§ Funds for community energy systems and solar ponds have been slashed. (These are *not* exotic technologies. Similar solar ponds are right now providing communities in Israel and Sweden with heat and electricity.)

§ The Carter Administration has virtually wiped out the Congressionally approved Federal Photovoltaic Utilization Program. (Photovoltaics are solar cells that convert sunlight directly into electricity.) The D.O.E. continues to shy away from short-term dispersed applications of solar cells and to push toward long-term uses at centralized facilities.

§ The proposed budget for biomass research (on the conversion of plants and wastes into fuels) has barely kept pace with inflation.

§ The funds for distributing solar curriculum materials to elementary and secondary schools have been cut.

§ Contrary to the National Energy Act's $100 million authorization, the Carter Administration is terminating the program to install solar equipment on Federal buildings.

§ The budget for converting urban waste to energy is $2 million less than it was in the 1980 program (waste disposal is the second biggest expense facing cities today).

Not every budget item is bad news. Market development and training programs, for example, have been increased. But if President Carter is to achieve his conservation and solar goals, he must back up his fine words with a budgetary commitment. Recognizing that the Carter Administration has forfeited the lead in the movement toward energy self-reliance, communities and households across the country are beginning to take conservation and solar measures on their own. These local efforts will and should continue. But to encourage those efforts, Congress must provide the budget increases—seed money for an energy hedge.

Diaspora Dissent

A critical debate has been growing for some time now in Israel over the role of the Diaspora—those Jews living outside Israel—in the peace process. In recent months, for instance, members of the American Jewish community have been criticized in the Israeli press for publicly expressing their reservations about Prime Minister Menachem Begin's West Bank settlements policy and for endorsing some of the views of the Israeli dissident movement Peace Now. These specific issues raise more fundamental questions: Should Diaspora leaders unswervingly follow Israeli policy—at least in public—so as not to give comfort to its enemies? Is there an active role for Diaspora views to play in influencing Israeli policy?

No doubt, Israel is the center of the Jewish world. Yes, the basic task of the Diaspora, the one that takes priority over all others, is to support and defend Israel. Yes, beyond any doubt, no Jew worthy of the name should do anything that lends aid to the enemies of Israel. Certainly, no one has a right to be a leader in the Diaspora if he acts to weaken Israel or to provide ammunition for its enemies—and certainly no Israeli should be doing such things.

These are great and laudable principles, and I wish I were as certain as either Ambassador Meyer Rosenne in Paris or Gen. Matti Peled in Motza, Israel, of what these principles mean. Dr. Rosenne, who reportedly referred to a recent Peace Now delegation as "traitors," and subsequently denied using the term, is certain that the organization abroad called Friends of Shalom Achshav (Peace Now) is the export of dissent from the policies of the Government of Israel, which indeed it is, and is thus an unforgivable weakening. General Peled, who for a long time has advocated that Israel negotiate with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, urged at the *New Outlook* symposium in Washington, D.C., last fall that forces in the Jewish world

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move ahead of the Government of Israel in a path-breaking way toward recognition of Palestinian nationhood.

Both Dr. Rosenne and General Peled are certain that they are acting for the ultimate good of Israel. Each is casting Diaspora leaders in a different role. Dr. Rosenne wants them always to take their cues from the Government script. The politics of Israel must be decided solely inside Israel. The role of the leaders of the Diaspora is merely to interpret the official "line" in their various countries once it is enunciated. When there is no line, they should be prudently silent.

A very politically-minded community, world Jewry, especially the American portion of it, would thus be able to have opinions on the cold war, the Persian Gulf, the energy crisis and all the other problems of the world. On any issue involving Israel, however, such as the proper policies to be followed toward the Palestinians, the meaning of autonomy, of creeping annexation of the West Bank, the future relationship between Israel and its neighbors and between Israel and the superpowers, Diaspora Jews may read the Israeli press or see these views reported in all the newspapers and journals of the United States and the world. But no Jew in Paris or in New York should have an avowed opinion in this realm, lest he do Israel harm. On matters concerning the policies of Israel, so goes Dr. Rosenne's doctrine, concerned Jews in the Diaspora, as part of the international Jewish debate, have only two options in public: silence or applause.

Dr. Rosenne's view, which is, I have reason to believe, not unreflective of higher authority, thus means that Jewish leaders in the Diaspora, alone on all the planet, may participate in neither the Israeli-Jewish debate nor the Western-American debate on Israel. This creates a situation within which there are only two choices for politically active people who have not taken leave of their minds: either leave the organized Jewish community or retreat into a kind of frustrated opposition which is testy and angry. How can you discuss issues with people who describe your very interest in the issues not as concern but as at best semiconscious treason?

And yet all these reflections do not land me, completely and comfortably, in the arms of those, like Peled, who would want to use pressure from the Diaspora on Israel.

I do not believe that any Jew has a right to give less to Israel, materially or morally, because he disapproves of a current policy of its Government. No Diaspora leader, and, a fortiori, no Israeli figure, should ever suggest to a head of government or a foreign secretary, or to the representative of an Arab faction, that he can deliver support of policies not held by the Government of Israel. The notion that anyone has the right to "save Israel from itself," whether he leads a faction at home or some critics abroad, from the right or the left, is, at the very least, undemocratic.

Jewish leaders do not have the right to the self-important, self-prescribed role of saviors, but they do have a right to opinions and a duty to express them. The most valuable opinions are not those which come predictably from party functionaries but from the broader spectrum of concerned Jews, especially from the unorganized intelligentsia.

The formula frequently suggested for avoiding such problems is to have such views registered privately on the powers that be in Israel. I used to think this myself, when I was younger and had less experience with political reality.

Views registered in private, even by the most eminent personalities from the Diaspora, have through the years had very little effect on policy makers. The very nature of policy in a democratic society is that it is determined by some sense of what public opinion is about. Precisely because the Jewish world has until recently largely followed the prescription of not entering the debate, the growing dissent has seemed to have no constituency. It has thus been disregarded. There is no alternative to an honest open exchange.

If the world knows, as it does almost instantly, the divisions of opinion in Israel, what secrets are we hiding by trying to impose silent unanimity on the Diaspora? Whom does it help, except perhaps momentarily those in power, that discussions and debate be forbidden in the Diaspora?

The raucous political processes of Israel's democracy and the debates within world Jewry should not be stilled in order to make the work of ambassadors easier. In the long run, the glory of an ambassador of Israel in Paris, London or Washington is that he represents a state, supported by a Diaspora, within which the Jewish people argue and care in a democratic way. With such moral authority, ambassadors might find their tasks easier and not harder.

First of all, Diaspora leaders will be more credible everywhere. The unhealthy whispers that attend Jewish politics today will cease. It will not be said, in either Jerusalem or Washington, "Never mind what so-and-so says publicly; he does not really believe it, because we are told 'reliably' that he gave it to Begin in private." We will cease hearing that some Jewish leader whispered in the ear of an Assistant Secretary of State in Washington, "Of course there is public Jewish unanimity, but that is really only a necessary show staged for you." We will have an end of public hawks who are private doves, and sometimes vice versa, depending on the company they are keeping at the moment, and of all the phoniness and lack of moral stature this has introduced into the very political processes of supporting Israel.

The ambasssadors who are so worried about dissent might then discover that the cause of Israel will be more broadly based again among people who do not necessarily equate their permanent and inalienable love for Israel with the immediate policies that the embassies, staffed by responsible civil servants, must defend each day.

At a very dire moment in the life of Britain, Winston Churchill is reputed to have said that democracy is a very bad way to run society, but it is superior to all other ways. Free discussion in the Diaspora is indeed dangerous. The only thing that is more dangerous is for Israel's Government to assign to the Diaspora the role of private scold and public claque.

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

Arthur Hertzberg is Chief Rabbi at Temple Emanu'El in Englewood, New Jersey. He is also adjunct professor of history at Columbia University and president of the American Jewish Policy Foundation.

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Black Olympians?

President Carter's decision to boycott the Olympics was shrewdly timed to coincide with the crucial Presidential primaries in New England, where challenger Edward Kennedy was expected to do well. Carter knew that Soviet troops would remain in that far-off Central Asian state for the immediate future, so the call for a one-month deadline was simply a hypocritical gesture to keep the issue "hot" for the media.

Beyond its effect on his re-election prospects, however, Carter's use of the Olympic boycott to punish the Soviet Union directly linked politics with sports. To those familiar with the black experience in America, there was a bitter irony in this. For many years, whenever blacks tried to use sports as a vehicle for gaining political equality, whites told them that "politics has no place in sports." In 1900, for example, the greatest professional cyclist in the world was Marshall Taylor, an Afro-American. Across the nation he won race after race, and became known as the "Black Cyclone." But in the age of Jim Crow, many white competitors argued that the presence of a black athlete in their sport was "too politically controversial." The League of American Wheelmen kept the Black Cyclone out of many events. After one race, a defeated white cyclist physically assaulted Taylor. Eventually, the sport of cycling became "for whites only." Taylor's right to compete as the equal of whites became "political," and politics, white Americans insisted, had no place in sports.

In the 1930s, the greatest baseball players in America were found in the old "Negro" leagues. Catcher Josh Gibson was a greater home-run hitter than the Yankees' Babe Ruth. Neither Warren Spahn nor Lefty Grove had the curve ball that Leroy (Satchel) Paige had in his prime. And the sterling play of first baseman Buck Leonard would have made Lou Gehrig turn around and leave the field. But black baseball players were excluded from competition because they were politically (and racially) too controversial. Blacks played the sport for peanuts while white athletes acquired thousands of dollars during the Great Depression. But black folks were told firmly that politics had no place in sports.

In 1968, at the Olympic Games in Mexico City, two Afro-American athletes won gold and bronze medals in the 100-meter dash. On the awards platform, Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their fists in a Black Power salute. Their act of courage was a statement—a symbolic declaration that black America is not yet free, and that the very principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution remain a fraud regarding black, brown and poor people. As a result of their protest, Smith and Carlos were denounced, vilified and condemned. Their chief defender, sociologist Harry Edwards, was subsequently denied tenure at the University of California at Berkeley. Black Americans were warned again: politics had no place in sports.

Now the tables are turned; the Carter Administration grasps for international issues to save itself domestically. Its dismal record on protecting minority rights and affirmative action, its failure to create jobs and a decent health-care system and its inability to control inflation have led us to the brink of another cold war. Now, we are told, politics must intercede into athletics, for the survival of democracy.

It is not surprising that the bulk of white Americans accept this hypocrisy as fact and follow their leader in the spirit of jingoistic patriotism. But it is sad to see so many black athletes doing the same thing. Today's black multimillionaires in sports have been eager to endorse the Olympic boycott scheme. Basketball star Julius Erving commented, "I'd hate to see anyone go into Moscow now. I don't think that a country that has instituted an aggressive act by marching into Afghanistan, and preparing to march into other areas, would be the proper country to host something that stands for the coming together of nations." The New York Knicks' Earl Monroe declared that he would "go with whatever the Government decides" because of his "allegiance of being an American." The most pathetic example of this kind of thinking from black athletes who were preparing to participate in the Games came from star high jumper Franklin Jacobs. "What the Russians did was against the principles of what this country stands for," he said. "On the matter of a boycott, I just want to say that I have complete faith in President Carter and our country. Naturally I want to jump, but more importantly I want to do what's right for America."

It is of critical importance here to note that the Olympic Games, and any major international athletic competition, should not be held hostage to any kind of political demands. The Soviet Union's policy was to send its athletes to Lake Placid for the Winter Olympics, no matter what the United States does about the summer Games. If Carter and the American people withdraw from the summer Olympics, a major precedent will be established that will be virtually impossible to counteract. Socialist nations and much of the Third World, including Africa, may boycott the summer Olympics scheduled for Los Angeles in 1984.

For black America, the question of the pending Olympic boycott assumes even greater significance. Historically, no nation in the world has done more to oppress black peoples' civil rights and to oppose our demands for economic and social equality than the United States. If we accept the new "logic" of white Americans, that "politics should have a role in sports," then we have no business playing for a Government that has sanctioned the systematic murder of millions of our people since the beginning of slavery. To see black athletes defending the cold-war-inspired demand to segregate the Russians out of competition is to contradict the basic philosophical foundations of the black movement. Eventually, the same rhetoric and exclusionary tactics applied by the Carter Administration to the Russians *could be used against us.*

MANNING MARABLE

Manning Marable is a senior research fellow at the Africana Studies Center, Cornell University, and author of the forthcoming book From the Grassroots *(South End Press). He is on the editorial board of* Socialist Review.

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ARTICLES.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN TAIWAN

The Government Stands Accused

This week seven Taiwanese men and women were scheduled to be tried by a military court on charges arising out of a demonstration on December 10, 1979. As Mary Ellen Leary writes on page 328, strong protests have been raised in this country against the trial by members of the expatriated Taiwanese community and American academics, among others, on grounds that it is a violation of the defendants' human rights. Recently, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark returned from Taiwan, and in the article that follows he analyzes the facts of the case, as alleged in the Taiwan Government's indictment. —The Editors

RAMSEY CLARK

The Government of Taiwan indicted itself on February 19, 1980. While the Bill of Indictment by the Military Prosecutor of the Taiwan Garrison Command names eight defendants (reduced last week to seven when charges against one of them were dropped by the prosecution), who, with their families, have already suffered greatly, it is the Government that will be on trial in the court of world opinion.

The charges against the defendants are sedition. The maximum penalty is death. The prosecution grows out of a demonstration that was planned in Kaohsiung for December 10, 1979, to celebrate the thirty-first anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. "They planned to goad 30,000 people to participate," the indictment alleges.* The Southern Taiwan Garrison Command denied the application for a permit to hold the rally because it "failed to meet the provisions of the statutes."

Defendants took a "hardline position . . . to defy the prohibition and hold the rally," the indictment continues. On the evening of December 9 two young men, Yao Kuo-chien and Chiu Sheng-hsiung "drove a public address car along the streets, openly broadcasting propaganda to inflame the people and persuade them to participate in the next day's illegal gathering. When police officers . . . were sent to the scene and tried to stop the illegal operation of the sound truck, Yao and Chiu resisted and beat up the policemen." A crowd gathered outside the police bureau "and demanded the release of Yao and Chiu through threats of violence." The next day some defendants "decided to write a 'Letter to Fellow Countrymen about the December 9 Incident.' They were prepared to hand out large numbers of copies of the letter, which distorted facts in exaggerated words, to instigate the people to violence."

A magazine, *Formosa*, was allegedly the cover for the "seditious activities." The defendants' " 'long-range power-seizure plan' called for use of *Formosa* Magazine as a center of sponsoring various activities to attract sympathizers and augment their strength so that they could wield decisive influence in seizing political power." These included "using the masses of the people, rallies, parades and demonstrations . . . they had to build up their influence and win popularity. . . . In August of 1979, the *Formosa* Magazine began publication. After that, they sponsored a number of mass activities, including rallies, lectures, parades and demonstrations. . . . They made radical statements to besmirch the government, undermine solidarity, make trouble and engender conflict by shouting false slogans about human rights, democracy and freedom."

On the night of December 10, the police cordoned off the major part of the crowd from the early arrivals and speakers. Four defendants "mounted the platform for speechmaking to incite the people and inflame the rioters to break through the security cordon." Several defendants proceeded to the police station to demand that the authorities "allow spectators to attend the speechmaking and join the parade. This blackmailing attempt to involve the people in the riot was rejected." One hundred thirty "wooden clubs" were purchased for the parade. "Rioters attacked the security forces with torches, placards and sticks (the nails protruding where the placards had been torn away made them vicious weapons)." One hundred eighty-three police were officially reported as injured; miraculously, no demonstrators were reported as hurt. There were no guns, bombs, knives or serious injuries on either side. The indictment alleges that "more than 200 torch-carrying hoodlums had assembled . . . only the 200-odd hoodlums had participated in the violence and the spectators, though great in number, did not respond to instigation . . . their conspiracy had failed."

A document in Chinese with thirty-eight photographs given me by Wang Ching-hsi, Commanding General of the Taiwan Garrison Command seems to these eyes, which saw many of the riots and demonstrations of the 1960s from an official vantage point, incapable of supporting charges of more than simple assault and parading without a permit. The profound disparity between the acts alleged along with the supporting evidence and the severity of the death penalty sought cannot be reconciled in law. The indictment is a political act.

The defendants are alleged to have "harbored seditious ideas. . . . The Magazine fomented the Kaohsiung incident in an attempt to subvert the government by resort to violence. . . ." Other allegations include the charge that at least one defendant "attempted to collaborate with both the Chinese Communists and elements of the Taiwan Independence Movement in carrying out his conspiracy. . . ." If so, he is no ideologue. The People's Republic of China pro-

*All quotations are from the official English translation of the indictment, except where otherwise specified.

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claims there is one China and the island of Taiwan is part of it. Nationalist China also proclaims one China, with the mainland a part of it. The Taiwan Independence Movement seeks self-determination for the people of Taiwan, who were ruled by the Japanese from 1895 to 1945, and then handed over to Chiang Kai-shek at the Cairo Conference of 1943 by Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Since the late 1940s, the nearly two million Chinese who migrated with Chiang Kai-shek have governed the nearly sixteen million Taiwanese who were there earlier. The Nationalist Government doesn't know whether to fear the People's Republic or the Independence Movement more, but it knows they are different.

The eight original defendants were all working for *Formosa* magazine as publisher, editors, managers. Three are lawyers, including the foremost human-rights lawyer of Taiwan, who, with another, has been a chief proponent of legal aid to the poor in Taiwan. The two had studied delivery of legal services to the poor in the United States.

All the defendants oppose the ruling Kuomintang Party, but are not permitted to form their own party. They sought to speak, to publish, to assemble, to express their individual views about (to quote the indictment) "human rights, democracy and freedom." All the defendants, save one, were arrested as they went about their personal business on December 12 and 13. All were held incommunicado for forty days or more without notice of any charges against them or information to their families. We do not know if they were tortured. We are told all confessed. Added to the *in terrorem* effect of the arrests and threatened executions was the brutal murder of the twin daughters and mother of defendant Lin Yi-hsiung nine days after the indictment on the anniversary of a major uprising in 1947 known as "2-28." Lin's prosecution was then abruptly dropped.

The Constitution of the Republic of China, which went into effect on December 25, 1947, requires "the organ making the arrest . . . [to] inform the said person and his designated relative . . . of the grounds for his arrest . . . and shall within twenty-four hours turn him over to a competent court for trial." It also guarantees "freedom of speech . . . and publication . . . freedom of assembly and association . . . the rights of election, recall, initiation, and referendum . . . the right . . . of holding public offices." But the Constitution has been suspended since May 10, 1948, when the "Period of Communist Rebellion" was proclaimed. No other nation has had a period of martial law of that duration.

The Kaohsiung Seven are to be tried by a military court in Taipei on March 18, 1980, unless the trial is again delayed. The world will judge whether the Government of Taiwan is guilty of further violation of the fundamental human rights of these seven persons. All people with a passion for justice will hold that Government accountable. □

NEXT WEEK: How to Oppose the Draft. A guide to resistance by Bertram M. Gross, author of "The Drive to Revive the Draft" (*The Nation*, October 20, 1979).

The 'Formosa' Affair

MARY ELLEN LEARY

Taiwan stands now at a precarious political turning point. Stripped of the protection the United States provided for thirty years, when the China Lobby in Congress made the island virtually the keystone of U.S. Far Eastern policy, Taiwan is casting about for a future course. Economically it remains stable, despite withdrawal of U.S. recognition in 1978. Its trade continues to flourish: $10 billion last year compared to $7.3 billion in 1978. Indeed, its economic health is so robust that it has ventured to engage in indirect trade with the People's Republic of China via Japan and Hong Kong and has dispatched a trade mission to Europe to forge links with Soviet bloc countries, which were previously nonexistent on its business horizons. The collapse feared after President Carter announced official U.S. recognition of the P.R.C. and withdrawal of recognition from Nationalist China has simply not occurred.

But a graver doubt about its national future centers on internal political conditions. Developments over the past three months under the Nationalist (Kuomintang) Government of President Chiang Ching-kuo, Chiang Kai-shek's son, belie the rosy economic face shown to the world. In fact, they are reminiscent of nothing so much as an old-style Chinese warlord mentality, which may not be surprising in a Government still led by men who fled to Formosa in 1949, whose average age is 75 and who still claim to represent various provinces on the mainland. This Government appears to have learned little about democracy during the years of close association with the United States and still less about changing times from the new generation of intelligent, well-educated and self-assured young people, many of them products of U.S. universities, who have come of age in Taiwan since the Nationalist takeover.

For the stark facts are that long-promised national elections have been shelved in Taiwan, political opposition has been jailed and an emerging widespread aspiration for self-expression has been brutally quashed. In early December of last year, virtually all the leaders of the opposition were rounded up and placed under military arrest. Some 100 so-called "dissidents" were held incommunicado; about half are still in prison. The arrests followed a series of shutdowns of opposition publications in recent months, all of them founded to give voice to one or another native Taiwanese group.

The meaning of this stepped-up campaign to stifle free expression in Taiwan was made bluntly clear when the first eight indictments from the wholesale arrests were handed down. All eight had been associated with the magazine *For-*

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mosa, the latest indigenous publication to be shut down. The arrests were thus more than an assault on free press and free speech; they were a direct blow against some of the most respected new leaders of Taiwan's intellectual circles—lawyers, writers, feminists and university professors, all of whom were articulate and outspoken in their advocacy of civil rights for native-born Taiwanese.

Contrary to official statements portraying those arrested as dangerous radicals, many are well known in American universities, where they gained reputations as able, thoughtful moderates. Two of them, Yao Chia-wen and Lin Yi-hsiung (charges against Lin have since been dropped), are attorneys who studied at the University of California at Berkeley, where they recently attended legal seminars. They are highly regarded for their willingness to take on controversial civil rights cases. There are also two well-known feminist leaders, Chen Chu, who is prominent in academic circles in Taiwan, and Lu Hsiu-lien, who attended the University of Illinois and Harvard University. Among the others are Chang Chun-hung, a provincial legislator, and Huang Hsin-chieh, a member of the national legislature, whose parliamentary immunity from arrest was abolished by a special act in order to legitimate his imprisonment. Finally, there are Ling Hung-hsuan, activist in the Presbyterian Church, and Shih Ming-te, whose previous outspokenness earned him a ten-year prison sentence. Shih's wife, American-born Linda Arrigo, was expelled by the authorities after the arrests and is now working actively in this country for the release of her husband and the others.

This is not, of course, the first time Nationalist leaders have packed off to prison or forced into exile people who spoke out in Taiwan in ways not to their liking. (See Donald Kirk, "The Taiwanese Want Their Island Back," *The Nation*, February 17, 1979.) The long arm of Government reprisal against dissent even reached Taiwanese students on U.S. campuses, who were followed and eavesdropped on by Nationalist spies and later punished for "disloyal" views when they returned home. But the number and prestige of those arrested in the latest crackdown make it the gravest threat to freedom of speech thus far. The drastic invocation of military law in the case is also a reminder that this country has been under military rule longer than any other in recent history, a situation oddly at variance with the modern industrial efficiency of Taiwan's bustling economy.

A threat to human rights of this magnitude cannot be masked by productivity charts and trade figures. Two groups within the United States are already voicing their protests in an attempt to draw international attention to the trials. First, there is the large community of Taiwanese who have chosen to stay in the United States, where they are freer to pursue careers in engineering, law, medicine, science and business, and to voice protests against the Nationalist Government. They carry out their campaign through speeches, newspaper ads and articles, and recently they dispatched the well-known Chinese writer Chen Jo-hsi to Taiwan with a personal plea to Nationalist leaders.

The other base of support is made up of faculty and students at American universities that some of the prisoners attended. A group of fifty-five professors at Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley and Harvard Law School sent a letter to President Chiang expressing their unofficial and personal alarm "lest this event [the arrests] signal the repression of legitimate human rights activity in Taiwan." Commenting on the letter, *The San Francisco Chronicle* noted, "The point that particularly engages the sympathy of Americans . . . is the peaceableness [of the group]. The intention of the accused was to bring about change through political means. . . ."

Signed by the deans of the two West Coast law schools and by Prof. Jerome Cohen, head of Harvard's East Asian Legal Studies, the letter points out that "nominal" continuation of martial law "in a country as stable as Taiwan" should not be used as an excuse to deprive persons of their right to trial before regular civil courts. The letter pointedly cites the new Taiwan Relations Act, Public Law 96-8, which specifically asserts a continuing U.S. concern for human rights in that island, including, the professors note, "the right to legitimate political activity." The pertinent section in the law, Section 2 (c), reads: "Nothing contained in this chapter shall contravene the interest of the United States in human rights, especially with respect to the human rights of all the approximately eighteen million inhabitants of Taiwan. The preservation and enhancement of the human rights of all the people on Taiwan are hereby affirmed as objectives of the United States." It remains to be seen whether such a declaration carries as much weight in Washington as the Nationalist Government's request for $280 million worth of military hardware and their hope for high-performance, long-range jets. Dr. Victor Li, professor of international law at Stanford University, noted that the U.S. Government's commitment is, of course, unilateral and without any enforcement mechanism. "But it is a strong policy position. We, as citizens, are simply affirming that same view in the hope the present Government in Taiwan will respond." (Dr. Li's Chinese ancestors came from mainland China, not Taiwan.)

The Taipei Government views the arrests, of course, in quite a different light. H.P. Chung, who was formerly Taiwanese consul-general in San Francisco and now heads the "institute" that replaced the consulate, insisted, "There is nothing political and nothing involving human rights in this case. We are dealing with terrorists." He noted that since the arrests, his office had endured three sit-ins in recent weeks with demonstrators "sitting on the floor and making a lot of noise"; the Los Angeles and Seattle offices of the unofficial Taiwanese representatives were also vandalized. "There are troublesome people around here who like to use the word 'dissident.' They are people with political ambitions."

Chung dismisses the group of magazine editors, teachers, feminist leaders, lawyers and university professors among those arrested as "bandits and thugs," who are clear and present dangers to the security of Taiwan. Actually, no comprehensive political objective or ideology has emerged from the group. Some of the various magazines they founded

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aimed their fire at the disparity between the wealth of government leaders and their business allies and the poverty of farmers and factory workers. Ideologically, the views expressed ranged from trade unionism to mild socialism, but none ever advocated Communism. Other publications dwelt on environmental concerns and criticized the despoilment of the island's beauty by industrial wastes. Some celebrated native culture, poetry, songs and history. Each was shut down, some after the first issue: *China Tide*, *Tocsin*, *Spring Wind* and finally *Formosa*, which was the most overtly political. But even the last did not espouse programs contrary to those of the Government; rather, it called for freedom of expression, more self-government and more representation for the native Taiwanese.

The center of Taiwanese dissent is in this country, but even here it is secretive. Journalists can find students attending local universities, engineers, lawyers, scientists and exiled professionals eager to talk about the Taiwanese situation if their anonymity is guaranteed. Some 20,000 Taiwanese live in the San Francisco area, a larger number in Los Angeles and more in other West Coast cities, and in Chicago and New York. They are a small minority among the large West Coast Asian community and have banded together into Formosan clubs.

But what distinguishes them from other Asians is fear. They will not speak for attribution lest family members at home suffer reprisals. In talking to them, one is hedged with precautions: No real names. Meet in private at a student's home. Telephone at the office, but don't mention where he works. A university professor called me back frantically: "You mustn't use my name. My mother telephoned. She has been visited by the police. She is so frightened. . . ." In that atmosphere, they tell about the upsurge of political awareness among native Taiwanese that occurred after U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China and withdrawal of an official American presence from Taiwan. A promised national election was indefinitely postponed. Lost with it was the prospect for free political association and free political speech. Opposition organizations are banned. But the new generation of better-educated and more affluent young people yearned for free expression. As various magazines were shut down, they united in a loose coalition, and *Formosa* became its voice. The magazine lasted only four issues, but in that brief time it had grown to a circulation of more than 100,000. This was enough to alert the Government.

The Nationalist press has now launched a virulent propaganda assault on the "Kaohsiung Seven." They are portrayed as revolutionaries, threats to the state. The "*Formosa* group" is charged with "disrupting the stability of society," and there is a clamor for the death penalty. Those enjoying the rewards of Taiwan's ebullient economy are as reluctant as the aging political leadership to countenance boat-rocking just now. The "establishment" in Taiwan stands arm in arm with the Government against change.

One Taiwan native who has U.S. citizenship, teaches at Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York and is former president of World United Formosans for Independence warned in *The Los Angeles Times* that continued repression by the Kuomintang would promote instability and provide Peking "an excuse to 'liberate' the island." But as another correspondent in Taipei, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Barry Kramer, recently noted, mainland China is not likely to become a two-party democracy—"and neither is Taiwan."

It remains to be seen whether the new relationship between the United States and Taiwan, set down in the Taiwan Relations Act, will be confined to the military arms trade or whether human rights will be included as well. One can hope that press attention in this country will encourage a free press in our former protectorate. □

FUELING INFLATION

Runaway Heating-Oil Profits

FRED J. COOK

The counsel for the defense in the fuel-oil rip-off scandal, the U.S. Department of Energy, has at last, in effect, pleaded its client—the oil industry—guilty. It has admitted to a Congressional subcommittee that the American homeowner has probably been ripped off for $1 billion in heating-oil overcharges that cannot be justified by costs. Other analysts, more concerned with consumer welfare than the D.O.E., have estimated that the rip-off since heating oil was decontrolled in June 1976 will be closer to $5 billion. And even that figure may turn out to be conservative, considering the continued wild escalation of heating-oil prices. With heating oil now selling at around $1 a gallon—and still going up—the average homeowner will be stung for an additional $500 to $600 this year above even the exorbitant prices he paid in 1979.

Here are some of the most recent heating-oil disclosures:

§ On June 28, 1979, Senator John Warner of Virginia, hoping to protect his constituents in the upcoming winter season, asked Congress's watchdog, the General Accounting Office, to investigate high fuel-oil prices in the Washington, D.C./Virginia area. The G.A.O. was stonewalled by the Department of Energy. Employees admitted that the department was only "a conduit" for industry figures. When the new Secretary of Energy, Charles Duncan, ignored requests for comment, Senator Warner authorized release of the G.A.O.'s independent report. The report con-

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cluded that the Energy Department had not tried "to determine why prices increased and whether the increases were justified and equitable." Its own study, the G.A.O. said, showed that most of the price increases were due not to higher OPEC crude-oil prices but "to increased prices charged by refiners."

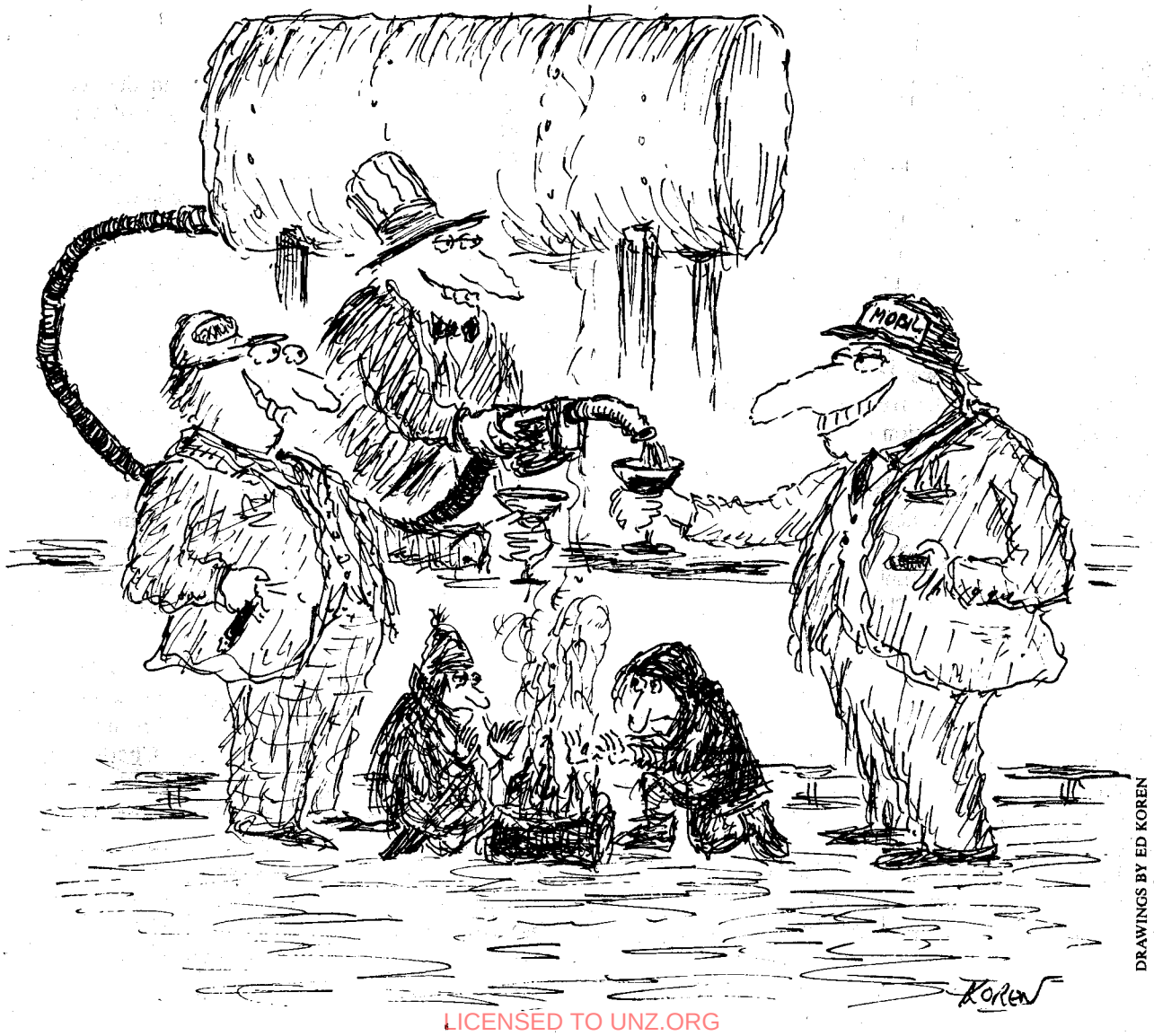
§ On January 30, Representative Benjamin Rosenthal of New York released a detailed staff study concluding there had been a $34 billion rip-off in heating-oil and middle-distillate (diesel) prices in just thirteen months from September 1978 through September 1979. After taking into account increased crude-oil prices, after allowing a larger margin for costs of production than even industry sources claimed, the study concluded that refinery profits on heating oil had risen 800 percent; on middle distillates, 700 percent.

The Rosenthal staff report bears every evidence of having been carefully compiled—indeed its basic data were taken from the Department of Energy's own "Monthly Energy Review" and the National Petroleum Council's "Refinery Flexibility" report. The staff also checked with D.O.E. employees to verify figures and obtain updated data.

The National Petroleum Council's figures showed that refineries in September 1978, with all costs factored in, had a net profit margin of 1.6 cents a gallon on heating oil and 1.8 cents a gallon on diesel fuels. The big takeoff in prices occurred during 1979, and what happened to these margins, according to the industry's own figures, is instructive. Refiners' gross margins on heating oil, which had been 7 cents a gallon, jumped to 21 cents; for diesel fuels, from 7.2 cents to 21 cents. What could account for this astronomical increase in just thirteen months? Rosenthal's staff concluded:

> Average operating and capital costs have remained fairly constant. Prevailing inflation rates were 11 to 12 percent during the period; the industry had undertaken only modest capital expansion; and labor costs had increased at less than the rate of inflation under the administration's wage/price control program. Because of the relatively higher costs for fuels used at refineries, we assume an overall cost increase of 20 percent from the N.P.C. reported costs of 5.4 cents a gallon. This calculation yields an estimated cost average for 1979 of 6.5 cents/gallon and, consequently, a profit figure of 14.5 cents/gallon for heating fuel oil and diesel fuel. The net refinery profit jump from 1.6 cents and 1.8 cents to 14.5 cents/gallon . . . works out to a relative profit increase in excess of 800 percent for heating fuel oil . . . and over 700 percent for diesel fuel.

That was the meat of the Rosenthal report, the basis for the staff's calculation, based on the volume of sales, that the



DRAWINGS BY ED KOREN

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oil companies had ripped off an additional $3.4 billion in thirteen months. During the time it had taken the staff to compile this report, however, it became outdated. The September 1979 prices—the latest available when the report was being prepared—are now ancient history. For with the advent of the 1979-80 heating season, heating-oil prices took off in another wild escalation.

OPEC, of course, had jumped crude-oil prices 33 percent in mid-December, but what is all too seldom realized is that every OPEC increase means additional hundreds of millions of dollars in new stolen profits for the oil industry. The reason for this is a dandy little accounting gimmick approved by the Internal Revenue Service for all businesses, called the Last In/First Out method of accounting. What it means to the oil industry—the most important single influence in boosting the rate of inflation to 18 percent—is that all the millions of gallons it bought at far cheaper prices and stored in its tanks are automatically priced at the most recent—and therefore the highest—market level. For example, the oil industry had been pressed by the Energy Department during the spring and summer months of 1979 to step up its production of home-heating oil to insure adequate supplies for the nation in the event of a cold 1979-80 winter. The industry obliged and by October 26, 1979, had in storage 245.4 million barrels (42 gallons to the barrel). When OPEC imposed a 33 percent price hike on crude oil, those 245.4 million barrels, bought and refined at far cheaper earlier rates, jumped overnight in price under the LI/FO rule. No one has even attempted to calculate how much the LI/FO windfall has swollen already gross company profits.

The industry, of course, contends that its profits are not excessive—indeed, that they are pitifully small. Gulf Oil just told its stockholders that it makes only 2.7 cents a gallon on its refined products. And Mobil, in a propaganda blitz, argued that its 20.8 percent return on average shareholders' equity was less than the comparable returns of Hilton Hotels, M-G-M, *The Washington Post*, ABC, McDonald's, Pepsi-Cola, I.B.M., General Electric and CBS.

But oil moguls can play all kinds of games with figures. In hearings more than a year ago I heard New Jersey Energy Commissioner Joel R. Jacobson clash with industry spokesmen who were arguing, like Gulf, that their per-gallon profits were minuscule. Jacobson wanted to know on what they based such figures—actual investment or replacement cost? "Replacement cost, of course," one industry spokesman said. Smiling wryly, Jacobson commented: "That's what I thought."

Mobil's argument is equally specious. Even conceding that its comparison with the companies it picked out is correct, Mobil's 20.8 percent return on stockholders' equity is still higher (according to a *Forbes* survey) than the average 16.7 percent chalked up by all of U.S. industry, a figure that includes, of course, the high returns of the Big Oils. Representative Joseph Minish of New Jersey, in a column run in his home-state newspapers, took a skeptical look at Mobil's claims:

> The average citizen doesn't have to drink Pepsi-Cola or eat at McDonald's. You and I don't pay to watch CBS or ABC, and we don't have to go to the movies. Appliances we buy only rarely; I.B.M. equipment not at all. Nobody makes us stay at the Hilton. We can read *The Post* at the library if we don't have the 20 cents to buy it.
>
> But we cannot escape the price of oil. We need it to heat our homes; we need it to get to work. The price of oil affects mass transit fares as well as, ultimately, the prices of all the products of all the companies which the Mobil advertisement names. From the policies of Mobil and the other energy producers we cannot be free. Even our choice of such suppliers is highly limited. If we find Mobil's 78 percent profit increase offensive, should we "shop around" for a "good buy" from Exxon (profits up 55 percent, $4.3 billion), Gulf (up 68 percent) or Texaco (up 100 percent)?
>
> The issue is rip-offs, not comparative rates of return on average shares.

Minish's attitude reflects that of many Congressmen who feel they have been double-crossed by the executive departments. When heating oil was decontrolled in 1976, skeptical Congressmen were given solemn assurances that prices would be carefully monitored, that excessive profits would not be permitted and that, if abuses occurred, controls could be reimposed.

President Carter's years-long campaign, cheered on by Big Oil, to force conservation by driving up prices has resulted in the reneging on all these promises and a bonanza for the oil companies, with soaring inflation and untold hardships for the average American. The President seems oblivious to the fact that his repeated appeals for "sacrifice" apply only to the poorest and most helpless sections of American society. Many Congressmen, however, are closer to the public mood in their districts. One of them is Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut, chairman of a House subcommittee on energy, who held a hearing on February 13 to follow up on Rosenthal's $3.4 billion gouge report. He remarked at the outset that he had just been informed that heating-oil prices in Connecticut had risen to $1 a gallon (the price, incidentally, that the Carter Administration was projecting for gasoline only a year ago). Then Representative Moffett said: "We cannot allow D.O.E. to ignore the promises made to Congress in 1976. . . . There is nothing sacred about the continued existence of D.O.E. or any agency in it. It is not fair to expect the taxpayers to continue financing an agency that is not doing its job."

That set the tone for the hearing. F. Kevin Boland, a Government Accounting Office official, described how the D.O.E. had stonewalled his agency when it tried to prepare the report for Senator Warner. Boland testified that the D.O.E. took the position that "assuring equitable heating-oil prices was not their function." The department contends, he said, that it is just "to provide information, but not to make conclusions or recommendations. . . . All D.O.E. shows is price. It never considers the equity of price or competitiveness in refineries." Boland pointed out that heating-oil prices between January and September 1979 far outstripped increases in all other forms of energy. Natural gas prices rose 18 percent in that period; electricity, 13 percent—and heating oil, 59 percent. Boland emphasized

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that the G.A.O. still had not received a response to the letter it had written Secretary Duncan on December 4, 1979, asking him to spell out the department's position.

The case for consumers was made by Robert M. Brandon, director of the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, and its research director, Dr. Mark Cooper. Brandon drew this picture: D.O.E. last March permitted refineries to "tilt" more of their production costs to gasoline. This "tilt" was supposed to ease the previous "tilt" on heating-oil prices. But it did nothing of the kind. Gasoline prices zoomed—and heating-oil prices zoomed right along with them, tracking gasoline almost cent for cent. The D.O.E. had approved an incredible "banked cost" provision on gasoline prices. This meant that, in 1978, when there was a glut of gasoline and oil companies couldn't even charge ceiling prices for it, they were permitted to "bank" what they hadn't charged—and then soak the American consumer when supplies got tight. The twenty-nine largest oil companies accumulated $1.265 billion in "banked costs"; and when the phony gasoline "crisis" of the summer of 1979 was engineered, these "banked costs" sent gasoline prices soaring.

Such a situation, of course, couldn't happen in competitive businesses, but the oil business, Brandon reminded the committee, isn't competitive. He pointed out that even though this has been a relatively mild winter in most of the nation, though consumption of heating oil is down and storage tanks are bursting, "heating-oil prices continue to rise—something that would not happen in a competitive market." Brandon went on: "There has been a 12 to 14 percent increase in refinery margins in one year above anything costs can justify." All of this can happen, Brandon contended, only because a handful of huge oil companies control the market. This control is exerted in every section of the nation, he said, and the grip of the few is tightening. In Connecticut, he pointed out, just four firms control 66 percent of heating-oil supplies; in the nation as a whole, 75 percent is in the hands of the same four firms. "If price gouging exists—and we believe it does—the Government has the absolute duty to stop it," Brandon summed up.

Dr. Cooper testified that the energy coalition had reached its conclusions after factoring in all possible costs, just as Rosenthal's staff had done. He pointed out that even the Department of Energy's figures showed there was an overcharge of $700 million above what would have been permitted under controls. Taking into consideration the continuing rise in heating-oil prices, Dr. Cooper estimated that, by the end of this winter, the American householder will have been gouged for $5 billion since controls were lifted in 1976. "We are talking . . . of $5 billion over anything that can be justified," he said. He concluded that, under fair pricing procedures, heating-oil prices could be reduced 20 cents a gallon.

Hazel Rollins, administrator of the Economic Regulatory Agency of D.O.E., had a rough time before the committee. Her testimony was larded with words like "hypothetical" and "mythical." Every calculation, it seemed, was one or the other. She contended that, in all the years of decontrol, overcharges had averaged only 1 cent a gallon above the "hypothetical" price that would have been charged under controls. But she acknowledged that, during the past summer and fall when heating-oil stocks were being built up, the overcharge margin had increased to 3 cents a gallon. Then she said that, in six months, charges had "breached the mythical margin by $1 billion." It was the first admission of such a sizable "breaching" by a D.O.E. official, but it appeared from Rollins's other statements that she intended her $1 billion "mythical breaching" admission to apply not to six months but to the entire period of decontrol. When Representative Robert Drinan of Massachusetts angrily demanded why Rollins had permitted such an overcharge, she replied that she had "jawboned" the oil companies about it, but "permitted it, no."

It seemed obvious that "permitted it, no" really translated into "permitted it, yes," and Representative Drinan charged ahead: "We gave you an inherent power, and you are not using that power. The clear intent of Congress was that overcharges such as this should be refunded. When," Representative Drinan asked, "if ever, would you do something for the consumers of America?"

It was apparent that the D.O.E. had no intention of doing anything for the consumer, ever, and Representative Drinan switched his attack. What about the G.A.O.'s request to Secretary Duncan on December 4? Did Rollins have any explanation why, after more than two months, the letter hadn't even been answered?

"I can tell you, sir, that the letter is going out today," Rollins answered primly—and the hearing room exploded in an outburst of spontaneous laughter.

On that jeering note, I left the Moffett hearing, thinking about a Virginia man who wrote to Representative Rosenthal: "I am frustrated and rather feel like the early Americans did just before the Boston Tea Party. The general indifference from government is no different."

Back in New Jersey, I got into a discussion with my favorite fuel-oil dealer, whom I had always found very knowledgeable about what is going on and about what is likely to happen. When I griped about my 97-cent-a-gallon fuel-oil bill, he stunned me: "Do you know, Mr. Cook, what they are projecting?" he asked. "One—dollar—and—28—cents a gallon! They figure the price will stabilize there because that's about all the market will bear."

Then we talked about President Carter's drawing a line in the Persian Gulf and warning the Russians it could mean war if they crossed that line and went for the oilfields. "Do you think I'm going to have my son go over there and go to war over the oil?" he asked, his voice rising. "If we went to war for the oil and the oil belonged to the people, that would be one thing. But suppose we went to war and we won it and we got the oil, who do you think the oil is going to belong to? Exxon, that's who! Do you think I'm going to have my son go to war for Exxon & Company? If you do, you're crazy!"

I came away with a feeling that there are deep divisions in this society, a brooding fury, a separation of the people from their government—and anger at and distrust of that

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government. It's a mood that finds its most vocal expression over the heating-oil rip-off that affects millions of American homes. But it's a mood that, if things get worse, could have a far deeper meaning. Could the heating-oil scandal be the modern equivalent of the Stamp Act? □

CANADIAN ELECTION

Separatism—The Forgotten Issue

STANLEY MEISLER

Toronto

In May 1979, English-speaking Canadians, tired of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and the way he badgered them about the threat of Quebec separatism, ousted him from office. That vote, reflecting the English Canadians' indifference to Quebec, split Canada along dangerous communal lines. On February 18, barely nine months later, many English-speaking Canadians changed their minds about Trudeau and voted him back into office. On the surface, the recall might seem like a new awakening by English-speakers to the gravest crisis facing their country. But, in fact, it represented the same old indifference. Trudeau, the Montreal intellectual who has based his political career on his ability to deal with the awesome problem of Quebec, came back from defeat and near retirement to regain power as Prime Minister with a campaign that made believe the problem did not exist at all.

The problem not only exists but must be met in the months and years ahead. There is, in fact, some urgency now. The Parti Québécois Government of Premier René Lévesque has promised a referendum in Quebec this spring, probably in early June, that could nudge the province a step closer to separation. It is not clear what role Trudeau intends to play in this, but it is hard to believe that he will stay aloof.

English Canadians *will* stay aloof. The election made it clear that the unity of Canada is now in the hands of three intellectual Quebecers of French descent—the separatist Lévesque, the strong federalist Trudeau and the moderate federalist Claude Ryan, leader of the provincial Liberal Party. They alone will wrangle about the future of Quebec and Canada. From time to time, if they shake off their usual indifference, English Canadians may emit a cheer or boo, but only as spectators from the sidelines. In the long run, however, they cannot remain indifferent. English Canadians will have to accept or reject the scheme for Canada that is offered them. As a result, guesses about the English reaction will be a factor in the Quebec wrangling.

In the most practical political sense, there were sound reasons for the politicians to ignore the Quebec problem during the campaign. Trudeau probably felt he had little choice, in view of the lesson of the May 1979 election. (See Meisler, "Taking Quebec Seriously," *The Nation*, April 28, 1979.) English Canadians did not want to hear about Quebec then. Some even accepted the argument of his opponents that Trudeau brought on the problem, or at least aggravated it, by constantly arguing about it.

Trudeau probably never expected to use the lesson. His rejection had been so stark that the 60-year-old Trudeau faced what appeared to be political reality and announced his retirement in November. But a few weeks later, Prime Minister Joe Clark, the 40-year-old Progressive Conservative who had defeated Trudeau, somehow failed to count and court enough votes in the House of Commons and let his minority Government crash into parliamentary defeat. A surprise winter election was on. The Liberal Party felt it had no alternative but to call on Trudeau once more, and the strategists around him decided that this time he would keep his mouth shut about Quebec and, in fact, anything else that might remind English-speaking voters of why he once irritated them. Trudeau concentrated on ridiculing Clark.

For Clark as well, there was no advantage in raising the issue of Quebec. Although bilingual, Clark, an Albertan, was regarded as an outsider in Quebec with no role to play there; he would win no Quebecer votes by interfering. On top of this, Clark, who tended to see Quebec nationalism as somewhat analogous to the feelings of alienation from Ottawa prevalent in his own Alberta, sincerely believed that the anxieties of Quebec needed quiet and calm now, not confrontation. That, of course, made political sense as well, for it fit the mood of English-speaking voters.

As a political stratagem, ignoring Quebec worked more to Trudeau's advantage than to Clark's. The voters, in fact, gave Trudeau a majority in the House of Commons. His Liberal Party won 146 seats, five more than half, while the Progressive Conservative Party had 103 and the socialist New Democratic Party 32.

The actual issues that spawned this result offer, as might be expected, few clues to what the people of Canada, whether English-speaking or French-speaking, really want for the constitutional future of their country. The election was mainly about Joe Clark, who had disappointed many Canadians in his few months in office. From the beginning of the campaign, the young Prime Minister was dogged by a procession of Joe Clark jokes that demeaned him, sometimes vilely, as a jerk, a turkey or a klutz. (A mild example: Why does Joe Clark carry a turkey under his arm? The answer: For spare parts.) Clark and his aides, citing the jokes in particular, later blamed his defeat on image, not substance. This is partly true. Clark, with only the nub of a chin, with a face of Archie comics innocence, with the awkward, stiff movements of an uncoordinated teen-ager, with a nervous, hollow laugh, does not look like a leader. But he might have overcome this superficial disadvantage if he had not at times acted the way he looked. His first major action as Prime Minister was to announce, without thinking it through, the movement of the Canadian Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, an announcement that upset

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the United States Government and the Arab world and from which he had to back down in the resulting furor. Nor did his last major action as Prime Minister inspire much confidence. His Government fell because of his failure to manage the business of the House of Commons and his foolish refusal to throw a few bones for parliamentary votes.

The second major issue was his attempt to raise the excise tax on gasoline by 18 cents. That was a part of the austerity budget that led to his defeat in the House of Commons. The voters, of course, did not like the idea of paying more for the use of their cars. But, even more important, Clark could never answer the Trudeau argument that this increase was not a conservation measure but a way for the Progressive Conservative Government to pay for a campaign promise—partial tax deductions for home mortgages.

A final issue, mostly in Ontario, which is the largest province in Canada, with more than a third of the population, rose out of Clark's constant advocacy of provincial rights. As a practical matter, in the eyes of Ontarians, these views seemed to conspire to raise oil prices for the benefit of Clark's native Alberta and to the detriment of the industrial centers of Ontario.

The voting patterns revealed by the returns also provide few clues to what the people want for their constitutional future. Trudeau's party swept Quebec, winning seventy-three of the seventy-four seats up for election. But Quebecers were obviously rallying around a native son who had been rejected by outsiders nine months ago and not necessarily endorsing his views on Quebec. In Ontario, the Liberals took fifty-two of the ninety-five seats, mainly because of the rejection of Clark as a leader and as a provincial-rights man. In the Atlantic provinces, the Liberals took nineteen of thirty-two seats, largely because farmers and fishermen were upset by the increase in the excise tax on gasoline.

The West probably gave out the strongest signal of its feelings on national unity. In the four western provinces and two northern territories, Trudeau's Liberals were able to win only two of seventy-eight seats. Westerners, while never concerned about Quebec itself, have long been incensed by the Trudeau policies that put French translations on their boxes of breakfast cereal and by what they have historically regarded as the anti-Western policies of the Government in Ottawa. Trudeau's silence on these issues did not change their minds.

After the election results were in, the 57-year-old Lévesque, looking relaxed and confident, professed optimism about his referendum. He described the vote for Trudeau in Quebec not as support for federalism but as "a kind of revenge" against English Canada for rejecting Trudeau last time. The Premier predicted that "the old Quebec wisdom" would prevail and Quebecers would counterbalance their massive vote for Trudeau with a massive vote in favor of the referendum. Parti Québécois officials put out the theory that even antiseparatist Quebecers, knowing there was now a powerful and friendly figure in Ottawa to protect Canadian unity, would vote in favor of the referendum to make sure the province had a strong voice demanding its rights within Canada.

Some analysts agree that Quebecers have traditionally tried to hedge their bets by voting for a strong provincial government and a strong federal Government at the same time. Yet the results made it clear that Trudeau has enormous popularity within Quebec. No other politician can match him. His views on the referendum and the place of Quebec surely influence his admirers. On top of this, his position as the most powerful figure in Canada undermines the Parti Québécois's contention that French Canada has always been shortchanged in Ottawa.

Lévesque's referendum has the advantage, for Lévesque, of cautious wording. It would not lock Quebec into Lévesque's separatist vision. Lévesque wants a sovereign Quebec that would legislate all its own laws, raise all its taxes and establish its own diplomatic relations abroad even while keeping in a common market and currency union with the rest of Canada. He and his party call this "sovereignty-association." But his referendum would not authorize the provincial government to declare sovereignty on its own. Instead, it asks only for a mandate to negotiate sovereignty-association with Canada and pledges that any negotiated change in political status would be submitted to Quebec in another referendum.

This second vote is designed to appeal to Quebecers who, while suspicious about separation, feel that a show of support for Lévesque would strengthen the province in dealing with the rest of Canada. It enables them to support the

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referendum without really supporting separation. There is a profound cultural nationalism within Quebec and a deep resentment about the way English-speaking Canadians have long turned their back on history and refused to recognize the dual nature of Canada. Lévesque's Parti Québécois has been playing on these feelings and rallying support for the referendum as a show of Quebec chauvinism.

Officially, the opposition to the referendum will be led by the 55-year-old, austere-looking Ryan, who is leader of the opposition in the Quebec National Assembly, as the provincial legislature is called. But Ryan will probably now be overshadowed by Trudeau. As head of the provincial Liberal Party, Ryan presented his alternative last month to the sovereignty-association of Lévesque. Ryan, a federalist, would keep Quebec within Canada, but the Canada of his vision would have a central government of diminished power. Ryan's plan, in effect, offers a third alternative to the separatism of Lévesque and the strong federalism of Trudeau. Its obvious intent is to keep Quebec inside Canada by giving all the provinces the kind of control over their own destiny that many Quebecers want. These ideas tend to coincide somewhat with those of Clark, who has described Canada as "a community of communities" with provinces like Quebec and his own Alberta yearning for roughly the same kind of freedom from meddling by Ottawa. This way of treating Quebec and Alberta as two sides of the same coin has a vogue in Canada these days even though it tends to belittle the profound differences and grievances of Quebec by making them seem a kind of regionalism.

During the election campaign, Trudeau refused to comment on Ryan's proposals and, in fact, said he would refrain from talking about them until after the referendum. Everyone, Trudeau told an interviewer, knew where he stood on the issue of Quebec and national unity. If the past dozen years mean anything, Trudeau, to most Canadians, stands for a central government strong enough to guarantee the cultural and language rights of Quebec and of French-speakers throughout Canada. His vision is of a unified Canada that accepts and even rejoices in its historical and present duality. It is a vision, however, that he has never been able to sell. It also is a vision that seems to contradict Ryan's completely. After the election, however, Ryan denied that he and Trudeau had great differences. He said they had already reached a general understanding in previous meetings.

In the interests of the federation, Trudeau and Ryan may reconcile their differences. But it could prove difficult. After the election, Lévesque was asked if he was looking forward to a referendum fight with Trudeau. The Premier grinned and, in an obvious allusion to Trudeau and Ryan, said, "It remains to be seen who is going to fight whom."

Trudeau is now the dominant federalist force in Quebec politics. Although this would be out of character, he might be content to let Ryan carry most of the fight against the referendum. But, should Ryan falter, Trudeau is sure to step in to lead the drive. It would be difficult, in that case, to hold back on proclaiming his vision of the future. He already has held back once this year. It would be too much to expect a man like Trudeau to do that again. □

PRINCETON VS. FREE SPEECH

Forbid Us Our Trespassers

ARYEH NEIER

"Because it is a university," a lawyer for Princeton University recently told a New Jersey Appellate Court, "its lifeblood is those freedoms encompassed in the First Amendment. . . . There is no place in New Jersey or in the United States in which the First Amendment is more alive and well and more an object of respect than it is on the Princeton campus." So saying, Princeton's lawyer called on the court to uphold the conviction of Chris Schmid, a member of the New Jersey Labor Party, for the offense of distributing political leaflets on the main campus of Princeton University.

How does Princeton's attempt to punish Schmid square with its contention that the First Amendment is its lifeblood? Princeton does not allege that Schmid interfered with classes or other university activities. Nor does it suggest that it is overrun with leafletters, or that its students, its faculty or its administrators have been impeded in any of their pursuits by "outsiders" like Schmid coming onto the campus to try to proselytize for their beliefs. The university reasons, as its lawyer argued before the New Jersey court, that Princeton furthers the purposes of the First Amendment by claiming that its private property is exempt from the rules that the First Amendment imposes on public prop-

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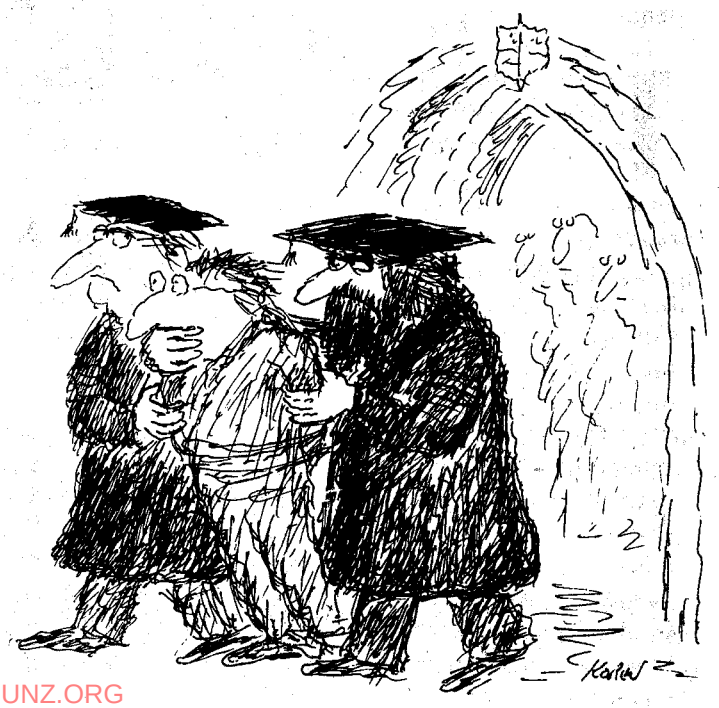

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erty. By exercising the authority to determine that some may speak on the Princeton campus and that Schmid should be silenced, Princeton exemplifies the interest in diversity favored by the First Amendment.

In certain circumstances, this argument merits respect. The values of the First Amendment are served by a church that limits the use of its premises to its own devotional services, by a union that limits use of its hall to union meetings or by a political club that limits use of its meeting room to its own partisan activities. Institutions with limited purposes and limited space are certainly justified in restricting access to their property. Pursuit of their own purposes may be disrupted even by those who do no more than distribute leaflets quietly. The state may properly be called in to eject intruders and to enforce against them the sanctions the criminal law provides to deal with trespassers. But should the rule that may apply in these circumstances apply to Princeton University? Or should a large university campus be open to all—subject only to reasonable rules about time, place and manner designed to prevent disruption of university operations and activities—to speak their minds or to distribute literature?

These are questions of some moment. In 1946, the United States Supreme Court, in *Marsh* v. *Alabama*, held that Jehovah's Witnesses could not constitutionally be barred from distributing leaflets on the streets of Chickasaw, Alabama, a "company town" in which all the property, including the streets, was owned by an industrial corporation. As Justice Hugo Black wrote, "Ownership does not always mean absolute dominion. The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it." Black pointed out that many Americans "live in company towns" like Chickasaw. To act "as good citizens, they must be informed." Accordingly, the First Amendment rights of those who come to Chickasaw to inform them, like Jehovah's Witnesses, extended onto this private property.

In 1968, the Supreme Court applied the principles of *Marsh* to privately owned shopping centers but, after a change in personnel, reversed field. Even though shopping centers are replacing downtown areas of cities as gathering places for large numbers of people and resemble company towns in providing streets open to all and in providing essential access to those seeking adherents for their political or religious views, the Burger Court holds that First Amendment rights do not extend onto this private property. The public is invited to shopping centers for limited purposes. And, despite much evidence to the contrary, the Court takes the view that the crowds visiting shopping centers may conveniently be informed elsewhere.

In attempting to uphold the conviction of Chris Schmid, Princeton is asking the New Jersey courts to extend the rules established in the shopping center cases to university campuses. Princeton is evidently deeply concerned with the Schmid case. Rather than leave the prosecution solely to the State of New Jersey, the university has intervened directly. As its counsel, Princeton obtained the services of a member of its board of trustees, Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, former Attorney General of the United States. Now employed as general counsel of I.B.M., Katzenbach took time away from such concerns as the Justice Department's giant antitrust suit against his employer to appear in court in Trenton to argue that the First Amendment would be served by punishing those who distribute political leaflets on the campus of Princeton University without Princeton's permission.

Princeton's appellate brief describes the sprawling campus on which Schmid attempted to distribute political leaflets as "almost home-like" and "almost comparable to the backyard of a private residence." These are said to create a "sense of community" and a "sense of self-governance." While this language was used in an attempt to persuade the New Jersey court that a fragile peace would be disturbed if a political leafletter were permitted to invade, it actually makes clear why the university deserves to lose its case. It distinguishes the circumstances in Princeton from those in the shopping center cases on which Katzenbach relied exclusively in his oral argument and from private property used for limited purposes. Princeton, the university's brief reflects, is a residential community. Thousands of students live there. As Schmid's lawyer, Sanford Levinson, pointed out to the New Jersey court, "Not only do undergraduates live and do their work primarily on University grounds; they also worship, eat, play, mail letters, cash checks, buy books, clothing and records, visit museums, attend films, plays and concerts, and receive counselling and medical care on campus. . . . Students have the opportunity to listen to their own community radio station, WPRB, and to read their own community newspaper, *The Daily Princetonian*. They are protected principally by security officers employed by the University."

By ordering the arrest of Chris Schmid, Princeton interfered with the right of its students to inform themselves. In the manner that it is resisting Schmid's appeal, Princeton demonstrates that it is intent on securing an important precedent. Perhaps the university is uncomfortable with thinking of itself as the equivalent of a company town. But Princeton should derive even less comfort from being classified with shopping centers as a place where goods may be acquired but where free trade in ideas is off-limits. □

'China Card'

(Continued From Front Cover)

American foreign policy followed from the inability of the United States to distinguish the genuine statesmen in China from the poseurs.

Chiang collapsed, the Chinese revolution took place, a generation of China specialists were discredited and the Republican Party had a campaign issue, but, thirty-five years later, the dream of China as an Asian power capable of counterbalancing the Soviet Union has not died. Indeed, China under its present Communist leadership is far more

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likely to play this role than the China of Chiang Kai-shek. Only Americans blinded by their fear of Communism are surprised at this. As Michael Schaller points out in his important book, *The U.S. Crusade in China*, so intent were Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai on fashioning an alliance with the United States during World War II that they offered to travel to Washington, in the midst of their civil war, in order to explain their position. Now their heirs have made the trip, and Jimmy Carter is in a position to solve the riddle that so perplexed Franklin Roosevelt.

Playing the China card was not a sudden finesse but a slow-developing ploy. The strategy began in the Nixon days, when Henry Kissinger secretly took off from Paris to Pakistan, while ostensibly sick in bed in his hotel, and announced to a startled world—and a shocked Soviet Union and a catatonic Taiwan—that President Nixon would be paying a visit to China. There were ups and downs after that, but the momentum was irresistible. No two countries in the world are more obsessed by the Soviet Union and its power than the United States and China, and in the face of their mutual paranoia, can a mere force like ideology stand in the way? Knowing full well that they are acting out a script written by George Orwell—for surely they must have read *1984*—leaders of the two countries are being drawn inexorably closer to a military alliance against their common nightmare.

If Nixon made the opening bets, Carter is playing out the hand. Early on, the Carter Administration was presented with a golden opportunity to play the two great Communist states off against each other, reflected in the announced principle of "evenhandedness." Such a policy presupposed that American foreign policy was anti-Communist, ideologically opposed to the expansion of any society with a Communist-controlled economy. Clearly this was not the case. If any country in the world fits the image of an aggressive and militant Communist state, it is China, but the United States not only refuses to punish its expansion, it literally encourages it, as Carter did when he came close to inviting Deng Xiaoping to invade Vietnam. U.S. foreign policy is geopolitical, not ideological. American military experts fear Soviet power, not Communism, and a policy of playing off the two Communist states against each other was impossible to maintain given that motivation. Before long, a distinct "tilt" in favor of China could be detected, the most visible sign being Carter's decision in 1979 to press for most-favored-nation trading status with the Chinese while postponing it for the Russians.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, all the players in the China card game were in place. Chinese leaders could, and did, say, "I told you so." Military aid was promised to Pakistan, which is a Chinese ally. (Little did the United States know that Pakistan would not want it.) Indeed, all the reactionary states in Asia, invariably supported by Chinese foreign policy, seemed to rise up, like the ghost of John Foster Dulles's CENTO pact, to ask for stepped-up American support. Out went the old Nixon Doctrine, which told Asian countries to defend themselves. In came the even older notion of a Pacific rim—the mirror image of Zbigniew Brzezinski's "arc of crisis"—to encircle Russia from Sapporo to Sydney.

The Afghan invasion, however, was less the cause of the new attitude toward China than its culmination. For example, in April 1979, eight months before the Russians moved into Kabul and while détente was still ostensibly in place, the Defense Department, in a highly secret study (one that, like nearly all secret studies, was shown to Richard Burt of *The New York Times*) urged full-scale military cooperation with China. Prepared while President Carter was trying publicly to win support for the SALT II treaty, the study advocated the sale of advanced arms and technology to China, the provision of intelligence data (presumably about the Russians) to Peking and, most extraordinary of all, joint military operations between the two countries. The total cost of providing China with what the Defense Department called a "confident capability" to defend against a Soviet attack was estimated at between $41 billion and $63 billion, twice the then-estimated cost of developing the MX missile. Dreams of a major military alliance between the United States and China, in a word, were begun, and were written about in *The Times*, where the Kremlin could read about them and ponder their implications before it made its military moves in Southwest Asia.

On November 2, 1979, still a month before the Soviet invasion, Defense Secretary Harold Brown announced that he would be the first American Defense Secretary in history to visit China. (James Schlesinger went to Peking as a private citizen in 1975.) The Administration was careful to stress that Brown's visit should not be interpreted as an anti-Soviet move but under the circumstances it was hard not to conclude otherwise. Whatever the intentions of the Carter Administration, however, the Afghan invasion made the point moot. Between the announcement of Brown's visit and his departure for China, all those favoring closer military ties between the two countries pounced upon the Soviet act to claim that a new world balance of power required a drastic new response.

Brown's visit, however, proved a disappointment to the zealots. At a welcoming banquet given by Chinese Defense Minister Xu Xiangqian, Brown told his hosts that in the event of a Soviet threat, the United States and China would "respond with complementary actions in the field of defense as well as diplomacy." This was too much, even for the Chinese. Somewhat chagrined, Xu responded with a much milder call "to promote our relations and strengthen our cooperation in preserving world peace and security." When Brown's aides were asked about the discrepancy, they said that a common statement from Brown and the Chinese leadership would be forthcoming later during his visit.

Brown then retreated into private talks with Chinese political and military leaders. What was actually said cannot be known, but from the results one can hazard a safe guess

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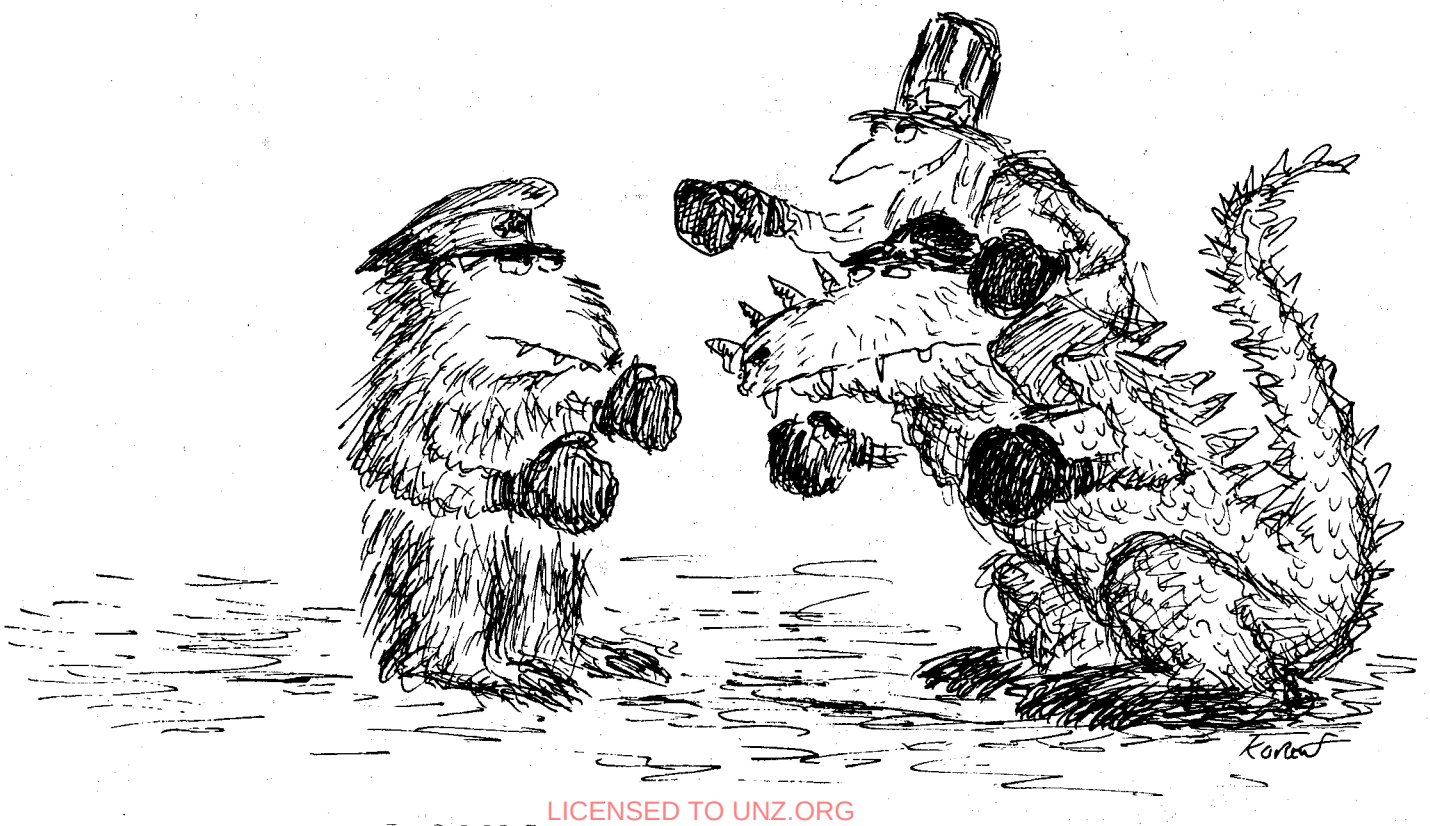
that the Chinese worked to cool somewhat the American ardor. (The American press, for what it is worth, reported it the other way around, that the Chinese wanted to firm up a military alliance but the United States calmed them down.) A country with a history as long as China's finds it more difficult to engage in a major policy shift than the United States, which so often seems willing to forget the past in order to position itself for what it takes to be the future. Moreover, the Chinese are more subtle at the art of diplomacy than the Americans, having practiced it for so much longer, and while the United States seems ready to consign evenhandedness to the same limbo where Taiwan is to be found, the Chinese have not given up on the idea that they can play the Americans off against the Russians and emerge as the world's dominant power some day. In short, once the United States declared its passion, the Chinese instinctively began to play hard to get.

The net result was that the joint announcement from Brown and the Chinese leadership was anticlimactic. No specific plans for a joint response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan were proclaimed, and no agreement was fashioned to coordinate joint military aid to Pakistan. The hawkish tone of Brown's opening speech was downplayed, and instead of an emphasis on common policies, the final communiqué stressed "parallel" measures, a word that Brown reiterated on ABC's *Issues and Answers* upon returning home. To be sure, there were signs of closer military ties. The United States promised China a new satellite station that it had denied the Soviet Union. Technology transfers on equipment with military potential were suggested. But no decision was made to lift the long-standing ban on American arms sales to China. The visit was clearly the first step toward a military alliance, but it was not the alliance itself. A definite but ambiguous signal was sent to Moscow. The United States and China had announced their engagement, not their marriage.

This pause in the speed with which the United States and China are pursuing each other provides an opportunity to reflect on whether a major military alliance with Peking is in the best interests of American foreign policy. At least four reasons can be advanced for being skeptical about the whole venture.

First is the question of what it means for the United States to play a major role as an Asian power, even if through a lackey. After its debacle in Vietnam, this country began to reconsider its traditional Asia policy, which was to support the most corrupt police states in the region as a counterweight to "Communism." The net effect of such an unthinking approach had been to force China and Vietnam to be allies, even though they were suspicious of each other and would probably have been at war were it not for the U.S. bombs falling on Haiphong Harbor. Subtle changes in the U.S. position could be detected as withdrawal from Vietnam freed America to be more creative. Relations with President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines noticeably cooled; an effort was made, even if aborted, to remove unneeded U.S. troops from South Korea, and talk was heard, for a brief moment, of reconstruction aid to Vietnam. Moreover, Trilateralism, with its emphasis on economic ties, seemed to offer an alternative strategy, relying upon Japanese capitalism and American trade to stabilize the region.

In this context, playing the China card is America's way of fighting the war in Vietnam over again, but with different means. One cannot divorce the U.S. interest in China from the current preoccupation with reasserting American strate-



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gic and military power in the Far East. Those who have led the fight against any attempt to relax a traditional counterrevolutionary foreign policy in Asia are using China to obtain their goal. Russian support for Vietnam and Cambodia (or at least part of Cambodia) was their opening wedge, and the new cold war completes the effort. A new Vietnam, with bombing, casualties and protest, is out of the question, but military aid to China so that it could police the region seems the second-best alternative. The United States will use an ostensibly revolutionary regime to follow a counterrevolutionary foreign policy.

Second, and related, the China card means an abandonment of the last shreds of Carter's human-rights campaign, for the Chinese have cast their lot with some of the worst Asian police states, especially Pakistan. Neither the right nor the left will mourn the passing of human rights, but I will. The right viewed the whole notion as introducing a moral consideration into what should be left to *Realpolitik*, and although they were happy to use human rights to club Russia, they will be just as comfortable without it. The left thought of Carter's concern with human rights as hypocritical sugarcoating for an immoral policy, a palatable glaze for domestic consumption. Yet a good case could be made that the Administration's human-rights rhetoric gave critics of reflexive counterrevolution an opening in which to make their case. A concern with human rights is applicable to the Soviet Union, which should be exposed for its barbarous domestic acts, and it can be applied as well against Argentina and Indonesia. As the language of *Realpolitik* becomes the dominant tongue in Washington as a result of the U.S./Chinese rapprochement, supporters of, say, the people of East Timor will lose one of the few levers they had been able to grasp in order to move public opinion.

A third reason to question the rush to form an alliance with China is its effect on détente, which the Russians still seem not to have abandoned. Indeed, the fear of losing détente for good is one of the few constraints on Carter as he pursues China, just as the Chinese are hobbled somewhat by their relationship with North Korea. Détente is not necessarily dead, although the prognosis is now guarded. Jimmy Carter, though currently portraying himself as a cold warrior, has no fixed beliefs in the evils of the Soviet Union; indeed, he seems to have no fixed beliefs in anything at all except his unquenchable desire to impose himself on the American people for another four years. Safely assured of renomination, running against a genuine hawk, Carter will become a man of peace, and détente will once again be in fashion. It is all very cynical, yet it cannot be dismissed, for any straw must be grasped in order to keep alive communication between the world's two dominant nuclear superpowers.

The problem is, as happened with Carter's policy toward inflation, that the President may simply lose control and give himself completely to the right. There are highly placed crazies, in Washington and out, who were never comfortable with détente and would be happy to see it pass from the language. The major obstacle to their success has been their image as warmongers, radicals (even if radicals of the right) who would plunge the United States into the depths of the unknown. For the Paul Reveres in the Committee on the Present Danger, the China card is a major breakthrough. Just as Nixon made himself respectable by receiving the endorsement of Leonid Brezhnev, the militant cold warriors can pose with (Chinese) Communist leaders in order to demonstrate that they are men of peace. The only difference between us and our antagonists, they will say as they munch on their sliced pork with tiger sauce, is on how peace should be preserved. Reasonable men, they will suggest, must be free to disagree about which Communists they will dine with.

Unfortunately, not all Communists are equal. The Soviet Union is a major military power, the Chinese are not (yet). To American military planners, the superior Soviet strength is the very reason for arming China. But if we look at the world as it is, and not as militarists intent on justifying new weapons tell us it is, we see that nothing works to soften militancy more than power. Since the Russians have so much of the latter, they have lost so much of the former. American policy, then, is deliberately perverse. It aims at reversing the "natural" tendency of the stronger Russians to become more conservative, forcing them into a militancy that they do not want, while depriving the more unstable Chinese of an opportunity to make their foreign policy more mature and sophisticated. If this is not a gamble with the world's future, it is hard to know what would be.

Finally, the vision of a possible military alliance with China sustains the illusion that a proper foreign policy can be created by tinkering with alternatives rather than recasting the whole imperial urge. We have clearly entered an era when national security is more vulnerable to internal conditions than to foreign threats. The average American is much more likely to be affected adversely by actions of multinational corporations and state capitalism than by what the Russians or the Chinese do. As recent events in the Middle East demonstrate, there will be no security for the American people until the power of the corporations that make us dependent for energy on unstable police states is broken. At a time when the dividing line between foreign and domestic no longer makes sense, when national security needs must be redefined, when the old clichés no longer work—under those conditions, an alliance with China will be one more failure, yet another attempt to postpone needed reconstructions in order to find a painless formula that will solve problems without acknowledging them. Protection of our security lies not with China but with ourselves.

No reasonable person, in my view, can protest against putting behind us the fear of the Chinese revolution—a fear that mesmerized American policy makers for so long. The protracted quarantine of China, however, indicates how difficult it has been for the United States to take a sane view of this great country. Just as the United States ignored China completely, it now runs the risk of embracing it completely. The latter course is almost as silly as the former. China can, and should, be our friend. But we will do neither the Chinese nor ourselves a favor if we use a military alliance with China to fight an old cold war with new weapons. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

An Essay in Reconciliation

EQBAL AHMAD

THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE. *By Edward W. Said. Times Books. 265 pp. $12.50.*

No one interested in the Arab-Israeli conflict can ignore Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine*. It is by far the most impassioned and morally compelling book by an Arab since George Antonius wrote his classic, *Arab Awakening*, in 1938. But unlike Antonius, who documented imperial Britain's betrayal of its World War I Arab allies and foresaw the tragedy of Palestine, Said is profoundly optimistic. In the awesome uncertainties and violence of Middle Eastern politics, he knows two things to be certain: "the Jews of Israel will remain; the Palestinians will also remain." Therein lies the uniqueness of this book, for Professor Said, a member of the Palestine National Council and one of the most influential Arab intellectuals today, is the first Palestinian writer to argue for the necessity of a full-scale political encounter between the Jews and the Palestinians "whose past and future tie them inexorably together."

Since he is likely to be attacked by die-hards and apologists on both sides, it should be stated at the outset that Said's is an essay in reconciliation. He writes with apparent conviction that "both Palestinians and Jews in Palestine have much to gain—and obviously something to lose—from a human-rights view of their common situation, as opposed to a strictly national perspective on it." He argues that a political settlement requires the recognition of some fundamental realities by the parties to this conflict. He contends that while "most Palestinians fully realize that their Other, the Israeli Jewish people, is a concrete reality with which they must live in the future," it is Israel's refusal to recognize the reality of Palestinian existence that prevents a resolution of the conflict. This is a contention which Said's adversaries shall undoubtedly challenge, but he shows, quite convincingly, that historically and ideologically, in politics no less than in law, in diplomacy and war, "negation" of the Palestinian reality is the "most consistent thread running through Zionism."

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How did the Jews, who constituted less than 10 percent of Palestine's population in 1919, succeed in establishing there in 1948 a Jewish state from which the majority of the natives became exiled while the remainder were made by law second-class residents? And why did the secular and liberal West give its unquestioning support to so obvious and monumental an injustice, such overt discrimination based on religion and ethnicity? To answer these questions, Said draws heavily on his resources as a literary critic and returns to the themes of his much-acclaimed book, *Orientalism*. His answers are difficult to summarize, for he knows that the creation of Israel resulted from a "complex, many-sided struggle, and a full-scale war." Yet, because they bear on the present situation, which includes the Zionist attempt to colonize the West Bank of Jordan, the Golan Heights and Gaza as part of Eretz Israel, one must note his major themes.

First, having "internalized imperialist perspective on the 'natives' and their 'territory,' the Zionist movement leaned heavily on the West's racism, and its deep prejudices about Islam, the Arabs and the Orient, in order to establish the Palestinians' inferiority, to de-humanize them, render them dispensable, and ultimately deny their very existence." Thus, the Zionist slogan about Palestine as "a land without people, for a people without land" was not an expression of sheer ignorance; rather, it was an ideological statement, the declaration of a political program totally congruent with the contemporary ethos of imperialism. Using a wide range of writers from Alphonse de Lamartine and George Eliot to Reinhold Niebuhr and Edmund Wilson, Said shows that it was the dominant ethos of *mission civilisatrice*—based on the notion of inequality between races and cultures—that turned the Zionist-Palestinian struggle into a conflict between a "higher" mission and a "humble" reality; it helped the Zionist "interpretation" of Palestine to triumph over the Palestinian "presence."

It was thus that Lord Balfour, Britain's Foreign Secretary, could write in 1919 that Zionism's "present needs" and "future hopes" were "of far profounder import than the desire and prejudices of 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land." Said shows that in time, the language changed, but the mission did not. After World War II, when the United States inherited much of Britain's imperial reach, Niebuhr, jointly with six other American notables, would proclaim that American interests "dictate speedy modernization of the Middle East"; that the Moslems present a "hopeless" picture of backwardness and despotism, and that "there is only one vanguard of progress and modernization in the Middle East, and that is Jewish Palestine." Gentiles and Jews thus became united in denying the native Palestinians "their status as sovereign and human inhabitants."

As Westernized and emancipated Semites, the Zionists sought to be and increasingly became the interpreters of Arabs and Islam in the West. Said gives ample evidence of Zionist leaders and ideologues from Theodor Herzl through Chaim Weizmann to David Ben-Gurion and Yehoshafat Harkabi interpreting the "treacherous," "devious," "cruel," "despotic," "greedy," "backward," "cunning" and "medieval" Arab and his culture to the West. Idealism also yielded omniscience; since 1917, Zionists have been claiming to know better than Arabs the wishes of the backward Palestinian mass. To anyone who follows the U.S. media's discussion of Islam and Arabs, or the "progress" of the Israeli-American-Egyptian talks on Palestinian autonomy, the argument must be obvious. For those who need convincing, Said offers ample evidence that, an occasional dissenting voice notwithstanding, the Middle East is still seen in the United States "from the Zionist perspective," and in more than one way the Palestinians still await a fair hearing and the right to self-representation.

The strength of Zionism lay in combining its messianic drive with extraordinary attention to detail. From the beginning of the movement, Zionist

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leaders spoke of "reconstituting" and "rebuilding" Palestine, and they knew that this was to be done "on the ruins of the Palestinians' homeland." Thus, in 1895, Herzl wrote in his *Diaries* of the eventual necessity of "spiriting the penniless population . . . across the border," noting that "both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly." Forty-five years later, in 1940, Joseph Weitz, then director of the Jewish National Land Fund, would write in his diary that "there is no room for both people in this country"; that "the only solution is Eretz Israel, or at least Western Eretz Israel, without Arabs. There is no room for compromise on this point. . . . We must not leave a single village, not a single tribe."

Doing this with "discretion" involved a complex, well-organized and institutionally backed policy leading to the encirclement and emaciation of the native communities by the technologically advanced Jewish pioneers. Said describes it as "a discipline of detail," a colonization that creeps "inch by inch, step by step, 'another acre, another goat,' " as Weizmann put it.

The Palestinian peasants and workers responded as beleaguered, helpless people always do—with resistance in the form of sporadic and generally uncoordinated violence. Said is especially critical of the Palestinian elite for meeting Zionism's institutionalized challenge with insipid representations and legal briefs invoking general principles—their right to self-determination, legal claims to Palestine, moral appeals for justice. He notes also that they made no effort to form parallel organizations and institutions capable of responding to Zionist colonization; they never explored militant nonviolence; they had no strategy to hold the land, no program of assisting the besieged Palestinian communities and of shoring up their defense and morale. Hence, when the final confrontation occurred, the people —780,000 of them—fled the war zones in a "psychological mood of failure and terror," hoping to return home after the fighting subsided.

Said notes, unfortunately without fully exploring their fateful implications, the many parallels between 1917-48 and the new stage of Zionist colonization which began after the Israeli-Arab War of 1967. By 1978, when Said was writing, 27 percent of the West Bank's Arab-owned land had been confiscated by Israel; nearly half a million Arabs had evacuated the occupied territories; there were seventy-seven illegal Zionist colonies and twenty new ones were announced on the day the Camp David Agreement was being signed. More ominously, by means of a series of land sales regulations, discriminatory distribution of water supplies, a psychologically and sociologically selective policy of deportation and sometimes by naked force, Israel has begun to strangle the occupied native population. Neither Egypt, nor Syria, nor Jordan, nor Saudi Arabia, nor even the Palestine Liberation Organization have so far countered this fateful development. Assuming the Israeli occupation lasts two more decades—and there is no reason to doubt this assumption—the land alienation and dispossession of a majority of the Arabs in the West Bank, Gaza and Golan is virtually assured.

Said, who supports the P.L.O.'s demand for a separate state on the West Bank and Gaza, obviously knows but does not openly state the tragic fact that what the Palestinians are demanding today is not so much the restoration of lost rights but the prevention of a final round of dispossession and another choice between exile and servitude.

Said knows also that despite its organizational strength, Zionism's messianic compulsions would have found little support among the Jewish people had they not been traumatized by fascist crimes. Notwithstanding a systematic, four-decades-long campaign, it was not until the mid-1930s that the Zionist movement began to elicit the support of the world's Jewish majority. He realizes too that support for Israel now transcends not only morality and justice but even the needs and interests of the Jewish people. This institutionalization of support for Zionism as an exclusionary ideology concerns him, for it renders impractical his hope that eventually Jews and Arabs may live in peace as equal and fraternal communities.

The encounter with Zionism has defined for the Palestinians their contemporary experience, and distinguishes them from other Arab and Third World peoples. "To us," writes Said, "Zionism has meant as much, albeit differently, as it has to the Jews." For "it has been the Palestinian who has borne Zionism's extraordinary human cost, a cost not only large but unacknowledged." Since he considers such an acknowledgement basic to reconciliation, he dwells not only on the Palestinians' physical and material losses but also on the more painful and permanent psychological and moral costs. His chapter, "Zionism From the Standpoint of Its Victims," is by far the most powerful; it is also likely to be the most controversial. Its power lies not merely in his analysis of the collective humiliation and sorrow of the Palestinians as they experienced ideological depreciation and dehumanization, physical dispossession and ultimate exile. Rather, it derives from the fact that Said evinces a compassionate understanding of his victimizer as well.

He believes, as do all Palestinians, that there is an inherent racialism in the exclusionary idea of a Jewish state, in the discriminatory land regulations, in the much-admired "socialist" kibbutzim which effectively practice a system of apartheid, and in a Law of Return which guarantees to Shcharansky of the Soviet Union the right to settle in Jerusalem while denying it to Said who was born there. Yet he does not subscribe to the familiar equations of Zionism and racism, South Africa and Israel. Such parallels "get badly shaken," he says, when a Palestinian "reflects seriously upon the differences between white settlers in Africa and Jews fleeing European anti-Semitism." He understands "the meaning of Israel for the Jews," the "terror and exultation" which have nourished Zionism. Indeed, he seems to know the sorrow of being a Jew so well that inadvertently at times the Palestinians appear in this book like reflections of the Jews. And he writes sadly of his people's "extraordinary bad luck" in having to resist dispossession and colonization by "the most morally complex of opponents, Jews, with a long history of victimization and terror behind them."

This important book is marred by repetitions, lack of economy and a loose structure. Toward the end, it begins to sag as though the last chapter—"After Camp David"—were an afterthought. There is much that is missing in Said's analysis of Anwar el-Sadat's policies and their potential impact. His critique of Camp David is familiar and he does not show an awareness of the Arabs' many lost opportunities. In places he judges hastily. In discussing terrorism, for example, Said contrasts Palestinian violence with the "completely asym-

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metrical records" of Israeli terror against Palestinians. This is true, but unhelpful in the sense that balance sheets of this kind add neither to good morals nor good politics. That he is "horrified at the hijacking of planes . . . by the terror in Palestinian men and women who were driven to do such things" attests to his humanity; that a committed partisan of the Palestinian resistance openly expresses his feeling also shows courage. But there is in this also a failure to examine the complex and pivotal role which the P.L.O.'s violence played in focusing world attention on the question of Palestine. After all, for two decades before the hijackings, the Palestinians had tried no means of resistance except diplomatic initiatives; more than a dozen ineffectual United Nations resolutions were all they had to show for it. To this extent, and in its limited way, the violence succeeded. But between the Palestinians' initial and weak strategy of United Nations diplomacy and their later recourse to terrorism there lies a broad range of political activities (among them militant nonviolence) which were left untried. In part this may be because the link between popular militancy among the Palestinian people and the political strategies of the leadership was and is weak, so that the alternatives in the form of effective mass movements did not emerge. But to assess Palestinian terrorism we need to know more about what these alternatives were.

Lastly, Said's book is distinguished by its insightful and sharply critical discussion of the Arab states and inter-Arab politics. These parts, welcome and refreshing to the Western reader, will undoubtedly produce controversy in the Middle East. Said has a good eye for the paradoxes of elite politics. Although every Arab government champions the Palestinian cause, "the number of Palestinians dead at Arab government hands is appallingly high." He is hard on the "antiquated and oppressive structures of most of the Arab countries," and condemns Arab rulers' "minority cast of mind," their "uncritical commitment to state power for its own sake," and their "perpetuation of police states in the name of fighting Zionist aggression."

He is also critical of Palestinians for making "historical appearances largely in the form of refusals and rejections," and for the "mindless" violence that costs innocent lives. He is at his best, though, when he draws on Palestinian literature to portray a striking picture of a self-conscious and determined people whose will to recover their national sovereignty increases with adversity, leading them to challenge their enemies, embarrass their friends and unsettle many a grand design in the Middle East. □

Spiritual History

RICHARD DRINNON

BEYOND GEOGRAPHY: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness. *By Frederick Turner. The Viking Press. 348 pp. $16.95.*

In the tall grasses across the Mississippi, Frederick Turner squatted on his heels one summer day and looked off at the Black Hills to the west. A teacher of folklore and literature at the University of Massachusetts, he knew that those inviting undulations had been sacred to the Sioux, whose legends depict them as a recumbent woman, with life-giving breasts and sheltering, motherly arms. What blocked his seeing them with such veneration? A short step took him from his question to a quest that began there on the Pine Ridge Reservation, plunged him deeply into what he dares to call our "spiritual history" and came to fruition in this extraordinary book with its unsettling answer. Only the entire burden of Western culture kept him—and us—from the original Americans' reverent relationship with the land.

When Westerners started sailing beyond their known geography in the fifteenth century, they shipped in their heads and hearts certain attitudes toward the wilderness and its in-dwellers. With a cardinal irony not lost on Turner, these attitudes had their taproot in the ancient Near East, where the "People of the Book" had left the paradisal garden and the cyclical world of myth and had condemned themselves to linear time or to history as we know it. Among the crisis cults spun off by

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Judaism was one that took up its bias against nature, but, under Paul's direction, at first turned the violence within, against the imprisoning body and that temptress of the flesh called woman. Then, well before the "gang warfare" of the Crusades and the intolerance of the Inquisition, Christians also turned this violence outward against heretics and heathens, and matched the determination of the ancient Israelites to "utterly destroy" polytheistic peoples. Massive sexual repression and the tireless search for enemies made the Christian "discoverers" ready for the "New World"—had it not existed, they might have been obliged to invent it. Foredoomed in their attempt to find a resolution of the history they had to create endlessly, they desperately needed to reach out beyond their spiritually barren landscape, to master the still unknown and to crush a whole new crop of earth-worshipping unbelievers.

Visions defy summary but these comments may suggest the outlines of Turner's. Given its scope, it not surprisingly has some blurred edges. Judeo-Christian attitudes dangle outside their institutional contexts and swing relatively free of such related matters as nationalism, imperialism and colonialism. Writing more as poet than historian, he disdains documentation and sometimes leaves the reader adrift and wondering whether he is closely paraphrasing or not. Highly relevant studies do not appear in his scant source notes. Finally, he tends to bestow uncritical praise on the exceptional Europeans who did not wholly share the invaders' attitudes.

In Turner's view, Bartolomé de Las Casas "was one of the few of his time to understand the meaning of the New World. Las Casas had come to see the New World for what it should have been—itself—and to recognize it as an enormous spiritual opportunity." But, in fact, that opportunity was a challenge to evangelization comparable to the one faced by Paul, with whom Las Casas identified, and converting the souls of native peoples "from the power of Ethnicke darkness" hardly left the New World to be itself. Las Casas called Columbus "chosen" and was not so much his opposite as his complement: if the misdiscoverer wanted the gold and bodies of those they both called *Indios*, the missionary died wanting their souls. And likening Roger Williams to Las Casas, Turner applauds his challenging the Saints on their pretense of a God-given right to Indian lands and notes ruefully that in his last years Williams was "forced to close ranks with them in King Philip's War." But that exemplary liberal had always closed ranks when it came to Indian "troubles": during the Pequot War four decades earlier, Williams had acted as a one-man Office of Strategic Services, warning Bay Colony Governor John Winthrop of "perfidious dealing," sending him a sketch of the Pequot forts and a battle plan, and then making perfectly clear that in racial wars, he would always side instantaneously with his "countrymen" against the "Barbarous."

Yet these few unfocused details are not at the center of this vision. Though Turner prefers to speak of "racial hatreds" and carefully avoids the term *racism*, he sheds the brightest light I have seen on its shadowy origins in the Western psyche. Other scholars have found its origins in fifteenth-century repressive attitudes toward nature and the body, with the concomitant associations of dark skin *color* with filth, death and radical evil generally. But Turner takes us all the way back to Abraham's people who emerged from the surrounding darkness of idolatry with the light of history: "Light, truth, and holiness are to be enjoyed only where the god dwells, and he chooses to tabernacle exclusively in the camp of his people, thereby establishing a center of civilization beyond the boundaries of which lie darkness and death, a wilderness peopled with beasts, bestial pagans, and their theriomorphic deities." From the Hebrews' old Israel in the desert to the Puritans' new Israel on the shores of Massachusetts Bay —and on across past the gold prospectors' Black Hills—bearers of this burden became the children of light, of history, of "civilization"; they were most visibly distinguished by their whiteness from enemies "blacker than pitch," from those wilderness creatures called *natives*, the despised, earthy, animalistic, suppressed shadow-selves they projected on nonwhites everywhere.

And so the fear-ridden invaders brought their convulsive history to a world they saw as new, demonic and empty. It was none of these things, of course, but the oldest world we shall know, old and numinous and teeming with two-legged and four-legged life. With some beautifully rendered fragments from Arawak, Warrau, Xingu, Zuñi, Blackfoot and Seneca myths, Turner paints celebrations of that life. These myths rejoice in the kind of rootedness one old Crow warrior had in mind when he said to another: "You are sunk in this ground here up to your armpits." Trampling both peoples and myths underfoot, the invaders condemned themselves and their descendants to remain strangers and sojourners in lands that were not theirs to destroy. Turner also puts the breathtaking rapidity of that transformation in perspective: "within three centuries of Cortés's penetration of the mainland a world millions of years in the making vanished into the voracious, insatiable maw of an alien civilization. Musing on this time scale, one begins to sense the enormity of what we brought to our tasks here." Yes, in a flicker of Clio's eyelashes, we had made the earth, as Sitting Bull said, "poisoned with blood."

This is a heroic book in the way that myths portray heroism. In these narratives an individual is separated by accident or resolve from the old way, undergoes ordeals and is initiated into another way of things and then returns to the community, as Turner observes, "bearing a new experience with immemorial wisdom." After the Pine Ridge experience, he accepted and remained true to the challenge of personal alteration, journeyed through thousands of fearsome years of Western history and now returns to us with the wisdom that faiths separated from the body are alienating and lethal, that at our deepest level we need to celebrate our relatedness to all other creatures and that myths are indispensable for such rejoicing as perhaps "our most successful response to life on this earth." *Beyond Geography* takes us to a deeper significance of the American

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frontier than the earlier Frederick Turner ever dreamed existed. It is a step away from our estrangement and thus a step toward all the Black Hills and toward accepting the long-standing invitation of Native Americans: "The lands wait for those who can discern their rhythms." □

Psychobabble

GEORGE B. FORGIE

JIMMY CARTER: A Character Portrait. *By Bruce Mazlish and Edwin Diamond. Simon & Schuster. 288 pp. $11.95.*

The air of quackery that unfortunately surrounds the use of psychoanalytic concepts in historical and biographical writing is unlikely to be dispelled by this warily admiring new study of President Carter. According to Bruce Mazlish and Edwin Diamond, an important key to understanding Carter's character can be found in his extraordinarily intense relationship with his father, James Earl Carter Sr., who not only loomed large as a paternal presence but "usurped some of the 'mothering' roles in the Carter family as well." (Just so. Although she is often present and seldom far offstage, Lillian Carter does not emerge here as much more than a relatively minor influence in her son's life.)

Mazlish and Diamond see Earl Carter as an authoritarian and demanding but not unloving parent, toward whom his son directed powerful but mixed emotions. As a child, Jimmy Carter loved his father to the point of worship and tried always to obey him and meet his high standards. At the same time, however, he found that nothing he achieved ever quite satisfied his father, who not only withheld praise but was capable of ridiculing and humiliating him, and sometimes even whipping him unjustly. The repercussions for Jimmy Carter and the rest of us have been immense. Earl Carter's expectations, combined with his petty cruelties, implanted in his son the qualities of obedience, determination, resourcefulness and self-control, along with a deep capacity to identify with the aspirations of other oppressed people everywhere.

Mazlish and Diamond seem to have gone out of their way to discourage reviewers from lumping together widely separated passages to make it appear that they see Carter's life as nothing more than a permanent elaboration of one aspect of the Oedipus complex. Far from stressing, they seem almost to want to camouflage their thesis, and seek in other ways to forfend the contemptuous dismissals such accounts often receive from incredulous critics. Unlike Mazlish's *In Search of Nixon* in 1972, their book is not subtitled *A Psychohistorical Inquiry* but *A Character Portrait* or *An Interpretive Biography* (depending on whether you consult the title page or the dust jacket). The authors seldom employ the technical vocabulary of psychoanalysis; the term Oedipus complex does not appear. They met and interviewed Jimmy Carter in the summer of 1976 (although it is not clear for how long or how fruitfully) and they have also talked to many of Carter's relatives, acquaintances and aides. They attempt to escape the charge of reductionism by asserting regularly that the President's character is complex ("He has so many sides—some contradictory, but all Jimmy Carter") and developing.

In addition, they insist that Carter has been shaped by many people besides his father—including his mother ("Jimmy Carter took on many of his mother's values, as well as his father's"), his wife, a schoolteacher, a favorite uncle, the populist Tom Watson (who "hovers ghostlike behind Jimmy Carter"), Hyman Rickover and Reinhold Niebuhr. But not Bob Dylan. There they draw the line, suggesting that Carter's claim to have learned anything important from Dylan betrays his "tendency toward the fatuous."

Most of Mazlish and Diamond's book is straightforward political biography consisting mainly of material that will be familiar to anyone who has been sentient through the last four years or so. Still, it would work well enough as a compendium of well-known facts and conventional opinions were it not for its tendency to arrange them in support of solemnly presented "bottom-line conclusions" which provoke nothing more than wonder that anyone would bother to express them. We are told that "in politics, style can become substance," that "what we don't understand, threatens us," that Carter "of course is more than a person. He is also a President," and that "though he has his faults, he's not a hollow man. He's not a phony."

No strategy could be more damaging to the credibility of psychoanalytic interpretations of historically significant figures than to surround them with the wadding of familiar facts and platitudes as though the former might automatically validate them at the same time that they partake of the innocuousness of

George B. Forgie is the author of Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age *(W.W. Norton).*

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the latter. This procedure is not likely to make the Freudian propositions any more convincing to the openminded. Nor will it make them any less controversial. Determinedly hostile critics will still pounce upon and dismiss such explanations on the ground that they can be neither demonstrated nor disproved, while pointing out (a) that many other authoritarian fathers have not raised sons like Jimmy, and (b) that this one raised not only Jimmy but also Billy.

A more important objection Mazlish and Diamond might have anticipated and averted is that their hypotheses about Earl Carter's role in his son's life are arbitrary and gratuitous. One example will have to do. We would expect any convincing account of Carter's abandonment of the segregationist certainties of his father's world to incorporate, among other elements, the well-known example set by Lillian Carter, and the responses of an intelligent, sensitive and opportunistic young man to the initiatives and prospects of the civil rights movement. Characteristically, Mazlish and Diamond acknowledge these influences and then, without rejecting them, proceed to suggest that Carter was able to identify with the aspirations of black people because he too had experienced cruelty and oppression—in his case, the injustices that he suffered at the hands of his father.

There are at least two reasons, one of them good, for resisting this hypothesis. Since the comparison is vulnerable to rejection out of hand as a trivialization of racial injustice, it would have been easy to head this off by observing that a child's perceptions are at issue here—not objective differences, which are beside the point. The second and stronger objection is that in making their oppression-empathy case, they leap over an explanation that seems both plausible and sufficient. Why should we abandon it? The answer is that there is no reason to flee from the demonstrable compassion of Lillian Carter in order to embrace the more wispy effects of Earl Carter's authoritarian ways. On the other hand, in making sense of an event or trait, one seeks an explanation that in addition to being plausible and adequate is also complete—that is true to life, not just true to the surface of life. This requires, at the very least, alertness to the desires and fantasies of the unconscious, which scatter their elusive and ambiguous traces through the course of anyone's life. The challenge biographers face is not to choose between external-conscious-remembered-adult experiences on the one side and internal-unconscious-forgotten-childhood experiences on the other. It is, instead, to indicate sensitively and imaginatively how they *most probably converged to make a life.*

The success of biographies that use psychoanalysis does not hang on whether they call an Oedipus complex an Oedipus complex, or on how elaborately they portray a subject's external life before moving on to emphasize the unconscious influences they let you know are really more important. Their success depends, rather, on how carefully they integrate unconscious desires and experiences with conscious ones. In its attempt to have it both ways—providing some psychoanalytic explanations for readers who like them, and some alternative "common sense" explanations of the same developments for readers who do not—Mazlish and Diamond's "interpretive biography" ends up providing no coherent "character portrait" of Carter at all. □

THE STANDING STONES OF CALLANISH

See them in snow under a full moon they told me.
The shadows will take you out of yourself to when
the Stones were erected, the time it took and the reason
we try to guess today. Some claim, a way to tell time.
Others say, religion. I guess pattern itself,
the delight of pattern and, if we ride birds,
center, circle and poke looked down on lovely.
Contrast it with uncertain currents of sea,
gales that rip up what seemed
well-rooted rock and send flying like suicidal stars.
These stones wear better than sky. See
the clouds in tatters and blue faded to weak cream
at noon with no explanation. Gales clear the grounds
of brochures torn in frustration at phrases—
"the dates are unknown"—"Herodotus states Abaris
told Ptolemy"—when? I try
to remember history and can't get past World War I.
I've walked around them twice, December in my bones,
knelt to get an angle on the two long rows
going north from the hub, one direction I've always
believed.
And I've calculated the weight of the big one
and guessed the number of men it took and the work
to bring it from Wales where some say it's from,
a special barge that wobbled and rode high without
cargo,
and that special day they put it in place and it settled
the way they'd hoped and it held. That was long before
people knew how to cheer, shake hands or offer a toast.
I imagine them resting a moment, then grim with resolve
starting down to the sea to get the next stone,
and one woman thought strange but obeyed,
urging them on and muttering hard at the sky
a word we've lost. It sounded like "shape." It meant
"world."

Richard Hugo

TELEVISION

PETER SOURIAN

At 8 P.M. on Saturday, January 26, Mr. Fred Grab of Barrytown, New York, turned on his TV in order to watch an episode of *The Unknown War*, as scheduled in his program guide for Schenectady's Public Broadcasting Service's station WMHT, Channel 17. He had already seen the first two weekly segments of this series on the Russo-German War of 1941-45, comprised of

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Russian and captured German footage of actual combat (discussed a year ago in these pages as a vivid reminder of the horror of war) and he expected now to watch the third, concerning the terrible siege of Leningrad.

To his surprise, Grab instead found himself watching a segment of conservative economist Milton Friedman's *Free to Choose*, billed as a series about "your money, your life, your freedoms," which had already been run, as scheduled, the night before.

Not happy at having his choices made for him in the form of a dose of freedom to choose, he phoned the station to find out what was going on. The secretary who answered confirmed that *The Unknown War* had indeed been removed from the schedule but said she did not know why.

Grab, thinking of Afghanistan, told her that if the program were being censored politically, he would cancel his WMHT membership. At the end of the Friedman program (on the role of the banks during the Depression) his apprehension was justified. An announcement was made to the effect that because of the state of our relations with the Soviet Union, WMHT had deemed it inappropriate to continue showing *The Unknown War*.

The next morning Grab phoned the station manager, Donald Schein, at his home. Schein was polite and responsive, in spite of this Sunday morning call. He told Grab that the station had received complaints from concerned parents who felt that since the United States would soon be fighting the Soviet Union, and since the series was, to their minds, unduly pro-Soviet, it had better be removed. Schein said he did not see the cancellation as censorship but simply as responsiveness to one group of viewers; having gotten brickbats from one side, he supposed he would now be getting some from the other.

Grab then asked Schein if his position implied that WMHT (which also runs a radio station) would no longer air, say, Shostakovich's Leningrad Symphony, since it too was probably unduly pro-Soviet in feeling. "No," Schein replied, adding that *The Unknown War* would be shown at some time in the future. Though he was at pains to let us know that Schein seemed like a nice guy, Grab said, "I found this remark reminiscent of President Eisenhower's statement that the future lies ahead."

The following week, after a meeting of the WMHT board of trustees, the fourth episode of *The Unknown War* was broadcast. Thus, protests such as Grab's presumably did have an effect. Schein announced that to avoid charges of censorship the series was being restored and, as if to sweeten this bitter pill for those who had wanted it stopped, he pointed out that the production was actually an American one, albeit with Soviet cooperation.

Shortly after Mr. Grab of Barrytown found himself watching Milton Friedman instead of the Russo-German War, I was enjoying the freedom of choosing to watch our own Bob Hope's version of war in a big fat retrospective of his Christmas war-theater U.S.O. tours spread over six hours of NBC prime time on two successive Sunday nights (February 3 and 10), sponsored by Texaco with the commercial theme: "We're working to keep your trust."

Virtually everything in these two specials seems to contradict the mild disclaimer made at the very end: "Nobody hates wars as much as those who have to fight them." As one of Hope's performers says: "It's such a thrill. It's so great. It's a great way to see a war." In a typical voice-over, Hope tells of "doing our bit for the highly decorated 25th Division": "During the show they found a nearby pocket of V.C. and sent us over a note which said, "*Sorry about the noise, hope we didn't disturb the show.*"

It was an orgy of nostalgia with a star-studded cast, including Ursula Andress, Cardinal Spellman, Raquel Welch, Jim Nabors and Anita Bryant. Lots of jokes, lots of broads, lots of good feeling all around. □

THEATER

HAROLD CLURMAN

I was not a good critic in 1921! Like many others, I held then that Bernard Shaw was more pamphleteer than dramatist, that his characters were his mouthpieces, that his plays were closer to journalism than to art. I should have asked myself how many plays written in English during Shaw's years as a dramatist (1893–1950) which aspire to the distinction of art (or entertainment) would endure as long as his "journalism."

Shaw insisted that his plays were indeed journalism and that he had slight regard for any play that was not "journalistic," that is, something that did not relate to its time and place. For all works of art, no matter how abstract, are to some degree an expression of immediate living experience and products of their times, just as they are all—whether landscape painting or pure music—autobiographical.

I have come to recognize, as Eric Bentley has taken pains to demonstrate, that Shaw as playwright was primarily an artist. Seeing *Major Barbara* (Circle-in-the-Square Theatre), one of his most forensic plays, has once again impressed me with Shaw's artistic vitality. It is witty, wise and, above all, packed with an enormous theatrical energy that springs from his joy in life.

His craftsmanship is superb. The opening scene is a masterpiece of exposition. The background and argument of the plays are set forth with utmost dispatch while it bubbles with sparkling good humor and rapid strokes of comic characterization.

For all the frequency of long speeches (they are like arias), Shaw's dialogue dances with the verve of Molière or of most Italian comedy with all its merry pranks. There is an inspired and irrepressible clown in Shaw, as shrewd as he is bright. The verbal plenitude not only makes for eloquence but also adds a bounce and fleetness that sweep us along in a happy swirl of jokes both pithy and provocative. We become spectators at a circus of the mind.

I cite some of the quips which lead directly to the play's major issues. When Andrew Undershaft, its miscreant protagonist, is asked his religion, he answers, "Well, my dear, I am a Millionaire. That is my religion." An impoverished workingman challenges Undershaft with "I wouldn't have your conscience, not for all your income," to which Undershaft retorts "I wouldn't have your income, for all your conscience." The big yak for our audience bursts forth when Undershaft, in an attempt to recommend a profession for his son, says, "He knows nothing and he thinks he knows everything. That points clearly to a political career." A rather silly young man submits this: "The more destructive war becomes, the sooner it would be abolished, eh?" To which Undershaft replies, "The more destructive it becomes, the more fascinating we find it."

We should remember that *Major Barbara* was first produced in London in

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1905, a year before the formation of the British Labor Party. It was the time when England was the richest country on earth, when the catch phrase "as solid as the Bank of England" was common among us, and England stood at the peak of world capitalism. That was the moment that Shaw chose to engage in theater propaganda for socialism—his special brand of socialism. The play is in fact a most daring and adroit piece of propaganda: it might serve as a lesson in how to deal with such material. What made it palatable to the English audience then was that it was funny and tricky, theatrically as well as ideologically. Shaw is never pat or ponderous.

I call Undershaft a "miscreant." One of Shaw's "tricks" was to reverse the audiences' expectation in regard to his personae. The pagan Androcles (in *Androcles and the Lion*) is a gentle creature; the Christian is a belligerent. In *The Devil's Disciple* (about the American Revolution) the redcoat General Burgoyne is urbane, rather cynical about the British cause, almost a pacifist; the New England minister is militant.

In *Major Barbara*, Undershaft, the munitions man, points out that much valuable progress has been made through war, but still challenges the humanist, Cusins, to "make war on war." (Shaw at two crucial moments did.) Cusins, a charming Greek scholar, calls Undershaft "Machiavelli," though he joins Undershaft as prospective partner in the making of cannon and other instruments of war. Undershaft, who considers poverty the greatest of crimes because it is the source of most of civilization's blights, would abolish it. At the same time, Undershaft, as a capitalist, approves of the Salvation Army because it makes the poor docile. That poverty is a crime is indeed the play's thesis, and for all its frothy clowning, it remains a play of revolutionary sentiment.

The triple-thinking Undershaft, great capitalist that he is, asserts "with a touch of brutality":

> The government of your country! I am the government of your country. . . . Do you suppose that you [his son] and half a dozen amateurs like you sitting in a row in that gabbleshop [Parliament] can govern Undershaft? . . . No, my friend, you will do what pays us. You will make war when it suits us, and keep peace when it doesn't. You will find out that trade requires certain measures when we have decided on those measures. When I want anything to keep my dividends up, you will discover that my want is a natural need. When other people want something to keep my dividends down, you will call out the police and the military. And in return you shall have the support and applause of my newspapers. . . .

And what a whopper this declaration by Undershaft must have been: "All religious organizations exist by selling themselves to the rich." Think too of the implications of Cusins's saying "Now the power that is made here [in the arms factory] can be wielded by all men."

The play is not conclusive. Nor does Shaw mean it to be. He has his stupid and even reactionary people say quite intelligent things. He knows that the tides of history or, more simply, the volatile, complex and often mad impulses of humankind produce unpredictable alterations of destiny. His dissent says "Yea" to the forces of life: he is a eupeptic puritan of fundamentally religious bent and, what is very rare in such personalities, a quizzical reveler in the world's comedy.

Stephen Porter, as director, has achieved one most commendable thing: he has made his amiable company speak loud and clear so that everything is as intelligible to the ear as it is to the eye. I might quibble about some of the acting and certain matters of style but I prefer for the sake of the whole to recommend that you see the play: you will seldom see anything so good on Broadway.

When in 1915 *Major Barbara* was first produced here, Shaw was asked if he believed it would prove a success. He replied, "The play certainly will; the question is whether the audience will be." I ask myself the same question. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

Two current documentaries raise the problem of the reviewer's subjectivity. Each picture deals with a family under stress and each is made by a member of that family. Both are straightforward and revealing. Nevertheless, a regard for my own privacy and a reluctance to enter that of others made these films ordeals for me. I am nonplussed, and thus somewhat resentful, when confided in by comparative strangers, particularly when the subject is one on which I can give no help. But I am aware that what I value as reticence may to others seem a lack of warmth; the impulse to "show and tell" has long since moved out of nursery school, to become an esteemed mode of social communication. So I approach these films with diffidence.

Ira Wohl's *Best Boy* has the look of an unusually well-made home movie—the transitions are abrupt, the interior scenes are cramped and the principals, all of them members of Wohl's family, are forever smiling at and talking to the camera crew. The subject of the film is Philly, Wohl's cousin, a seriously retarded man of 52. Except for one brief stay in what is said to have been a cruelly inadequate institution, Philly has always lived at home. He has a generally amiable disposition, is devoted to washing dishes and carries packages for his mother when they shop in the local markets. But his mother and father were in their late 70s in 1978, when the filming was started, and Ira Wohl had begun to worry about what would become of his cousin when they died. With the cooperation of the family, he acted on this anxiety, and the movie shows how Philly, first in a day-care center, later in a small home for the feebleminded, learned to adjust in a community of his peers. He did so none too soon: his father died within a few months of his removal to the home.

Wohl is to be congratulated on his foresight and Philly's parents are admirable: simple people and, during their last years, in poor health, they endure without apparent complaint the exasperation of living in closest contact with their idiot child. The film is useful in establishing that people in Philly's condition are better off among others like them than living in social isolation within their families. The difficulty is, as it has always been, to find an institution that offers the proper care. I suspect that Philly has been lucky in that respect, though in no other.

So *Best Boy* is a dignified account of good people dealing with a personal tragedy. It may also be effective in publicizing the need for more and better institutions for the mentally deprived. I can't, though, see that it offers anything to a general audience. Like the run of humanity, the family is resolute in adversity, but it is not otherwise ar-

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resting. Philly's attempts, when urged, to count to ten, his ability to carry a tune, to walk safely to and from a corner store and shave with an electric razor are important to the people responsible for his care. Since I am not one of those, I felt myself an intruder and was glad to get away.

My feeling about *Joe and Maxi* is much the same, though more intense. After the death of her mother, Maxi Cohen, troubled because she has never really come to know her father and in the hope of ridding herself of ambivalent feelings toward him retained from childhood, decided to make their relationship the subject of a movie. She directed this film with Joel Gold, who is also the excellent cameraman, and she shares the screen with Joe.

The picture opens by playing a tape that Mrs. Cohen had addressed to her husband when she knew she was soon to die. It is brave and loving, tenderly urging Joe not to grieve unduly and to care for the children. It is a simple, intensely private message.

Joe, one soon sees, is not a man whom it would be easy for anyone, let alone a child, to know at all intimately. Self-made in the American pattern, he operates successfully, and clearly with great pleasure, a fishing and clamming dock at Cape May, New Jersey. He also rebuilds and sells trucks and buses and runs a small trucking business. He is mechanically adept and, like many of his kind, a loner; large, stubborn, noisy, smart but more or less uneducated and defensively abrasive.

The early scenes show him going about his work, fencing rather cruelly with Maxi at a family meal, mocking her desire for a career and scorning her assertion that, at the moment, marriage is not the career she wants. Then, with the picture half-made, Joe discovers that he has cancer of a particularly fast-moving and virulent sort. He becomes yet more biting, pathetically savage under the burden of imminent death; he fends off Maxi and his two sons with assumed hostility. And he begins overtly to resent the picture-making which, I think, he had disliked from the start. He takes perverse pleasure in showing the camera the malignant nodes that are appearing all over his body. He is unmistakably a man in torment and it passes my understanding how his daughter found the resolution to go on filming him.

She says at the end, after Joe has died, that by making this picture she did come to terms with her father, that she now feels free to get on with her own life. I believe her and recognize her strength of will. And one must acknowledge that her parents cannot be affected by the showing of the film. But, had they been my parents, I could not have released it.

Our common memory is much shorter than our individual memories; recollections of childhood remain vivid, but public events, even those of lasting consequence, can become seriously blurred in a decade or so. How accurately do you retain the facts bearing on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution?

That is why a film like *The War at Home* can only grow in importance with the passage of time. Along with *The Trials of Alger Hiss* (reviewed here March 8) and, of course, *The Sorrow and the Pity*, probably the prototype of this sort of visual history, it should be revived at planned intervals, so that each generation may understand what its parents felt and how they acted.

The War at Home chronicles the resistance to the war in Vietnam on the campus of the University of Wisconsin and in the streets of Madison from its tentative beginnings in 1963 to the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement in 1973. If, unprepared, you were shown the scenes of violence that occurred in 1966 and thereafter, with platoons of police, masked against tear gas, thudding their truncheons on the heads and shoulders of the massed demonstrators, and these retaliating with hurled rocks, you might think this bloodletting had been exaggerated for effect. But in fact these passages are taken from film archives and, in the context of the picture (co-produced and co-directed by Glenn Silber and Barry Alexander Brown), seem not only credible but almost inevitable.

Silber and Brown, following the script written by Elizabeth Duncan, weave into contemporary newsreels, video footage and official combat scenes from Vietnam recent interviews with men and women who participated in the successively more bitter confrontations. Among these twenty or so "survivors" from the war at home are Paul Soglin, who later served for six years (1973–79) as the mayor of Madison; Henry Haslach, formerly president of SDS at Madison, now a lecturer in engineering at the university; Maurice Zeitlin, then a young teacher, now a professor of sociology on the same campus, and Karl Armstrong, who in 1970 took part in the bombing of the Army's Math Research Center on the Madison campus, was jailed and has recently been released on parole. (It is a measure of the film's perceptiveness and enduring importance that one learns from it how a young man of Armstrong's intelligence and conservative background came to feel that he should commit this crime.)

Of course Madison was not the only center of resistance or the only arena of violence. Among many others, there was the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago (Karl Armstrong was there), there was Kent State, there were the marches on Washington, the siege of the Pentagon. Nor was Vietnam the only cause: civil rights preceded it, afterward came the mass outpourings against the bombing of Cambodia, against nuclear energy. In fact, Americans of the last couple of generations have become a people on a slow boil. Anyone possessed of sociopolitical eardrums should be able to feel the pressure rising again today. □

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The Society of Evangelical Agnostics
Logo and information: SEA, Box 612N, Fresno, CA 93709.

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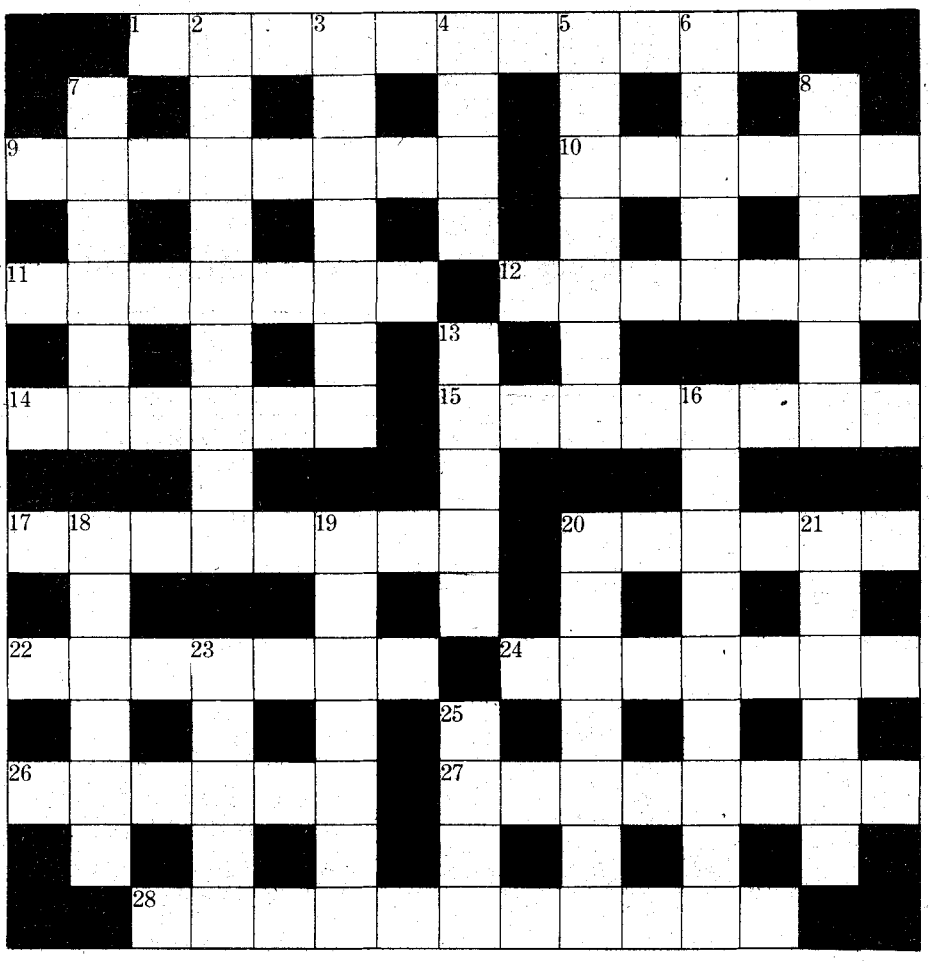
X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 1813

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 15, 25 and 20 across An accompanying statement might be that they were lucky to have met in the first place. (1,4,3,3,5,3,4,6)
9 Takes off, in a sense, at speeds reached by Russian fighters. (8)
10 Hold half this for the admiral. (6)
11 and 23 down Does it imply a couple off sleepers on the stage, funny though it may be. (7,5)
12 Gunners have such an angle, and hum it badly after the first and last letters. (7)
14 Does it make a drive less monotonous? (6)
15 See 1 across
17 A sobering place for a sailor, as they put it. (8)
20 See 1 across
22 Things don't go off well if they do. (7)
24 Importuned in order to improve the condition of your suit? (7)
26 Whither, according to Cicero, spirit is not necessarily more than half. (6)
27 If prepared to lose, be of a discarded type. (8)
28 Abracadabra might be, as single men discovered. (11)

DOWN

2 and 3 Is a megaphone, as a mild protest? (3,6,3,4)
4 This ran out of the money. (4)
5 Study one form of self-contemplation, being resident. (7)
6 I commonly criticize a religious system, it seems. (5)
7 Came in improperly with the motion pictures. (6)
8 One who carries the beer? (6)
13 It may make harmony. (5)
16 They're the garage type in some areas, being measures with certain drinks. (4,5)
18 Force Ten to you and me? It's detestable! (6)
19 One might make a row of arms on a sort of it. (7)
20 Equal to a French coin of old, offering a little protection. (7)
21 Two points about the opening of races, possibly. (6)
23 See 11 across
25 See 1 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1812

ACROSS: 1 and 5 Covering letter; 9 Manhunt; 10 Satanic; 11 Open-air; 12 Careful; 13 Smelling salts; 15 National Guard; 21 Electra; 22 Epitome; 23 Elm wood; 24 Show-off; 25 Teller; 26 Adverted. DOWN: 1 and 14 Common interest; 2 Venders; 3 Roulade; 4 Natural hazard; 6 Extorts; 7 Tuneful; 8 Reckless; 10 Second-guessed; 16 Thermal; 17 Outcome; 18 Adipose; 19 Drop-out; 20 Reefed.

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A Second Interview With The 115-Year-Old Magazine

—You are very old, sir, with lengthy experience in the magazine world. Do you have any advice for young magazines just starting out?

—Sure. Don't call yourself *National Geographic*—that's taken.

—I meant that in a philosophical sense. What should a magazine stand for, for example?

—Nothing. It should stand for nothing.

—Nothing?

—Sure. The way the world is today, nobody should stand for it. Home heating oil up 100 percent in one year, stagflation, MX missiles on race tracks, 13 percent interest rates and 14 percent inflation, John Connally—who can stand it?

—What do you think of the Presidential race?

—I'd rather not. But since you ask, the answers are yes, no and only his hairdresser knows for sure.

—What were the questions?

—Will Ted Kennedy stay in, will Jerry Brown drop out and is Ronald Reagan older than I am?

—You certainly have all the answers.

—Nope. I have all the questions. You want the answers, go see the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. But if you think for yourself, fill out that handy coupon on this page and subscribe to *The Nation*.

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